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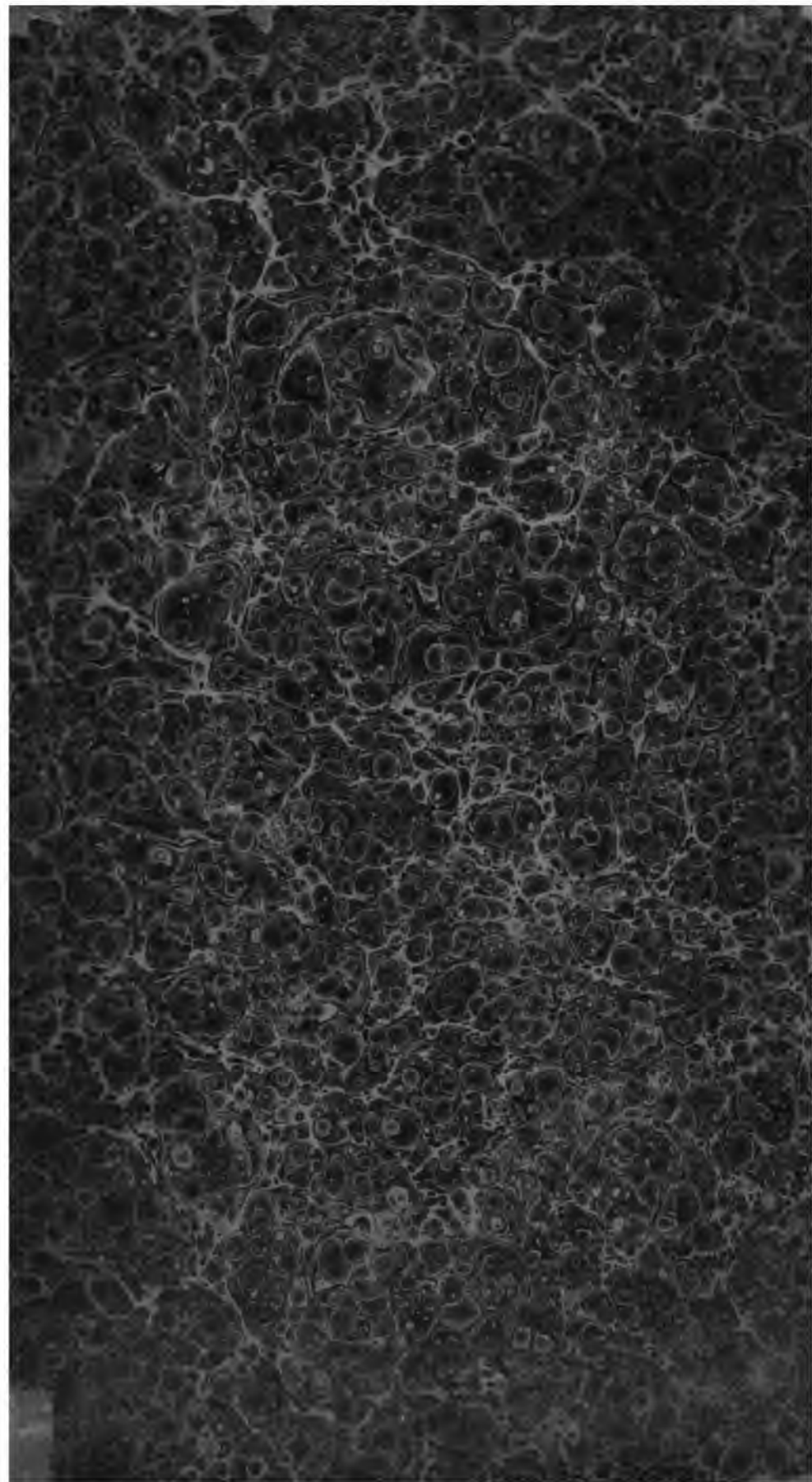
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44. 1261.





MEMOIRS
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

IN FOUR PERIODS.
FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE UNION,
WITH AN
APPENDIX
OF SOME TRANSACTIONS SINCE THE UNION.

BY
DANIEL DE'FOE.

CAREFULLY REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1717.



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CONTENTS.

I. THE CHURCH IN HER INFANT STATE, FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE QUEEN MARY'S ABDICATION,	Page 5
II. THE CHURCH IN ITS GROWING STATE, FROM THE ABDICATION TO THE RESTORATION,	23
III. THE CHURCH IN ITS PERSECUTED STATE, FROM THE RESTORA- TION TO THE REVOLUTION,	60
IV. THE CHURCH IN ITS PRESENT STATE, FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION,	98
APPENDIX.—TRANSACTIONS SINCE THE UNION,	107



INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

IN this age of republications, it is singular that the present work should have been so much overlooked. Although published anonymously, it is well known to have been written by the celebrated author of *ROBINSON CRUSOE*. To some readers this may not be esteemed as a suitable recommendation, conceiving that a writer of fiction like *DE FOE*, and a native of England, was not the person best qualified to treat a history of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, either with impartiality or a due regard to accuracy in matters of detail. This, however, is an erroneous conception. The author was, from principle, a warm and attached friend to the Presbyterians; and in this work, while he exhibits the same characteristic features which distinguish his subsequent works of fiction, he has combined a very animated and graphic form of narrative with a commendable fidelity and correctness in the general outlines of the history of the Church.

DANIEL DE FOE was born in the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate, London, about the year 1663. His parents were Protestant Dissenters, and he continued through life a constant and zealous defender of their principles. Having distinguished himself by his political writings, he was patronized by the English Government, in the reign of Queen Anne, and was selected by Lord Godolphin as a suitable person to visit Scotland on an errand which, as he tells us, with some complacency, "was far from being unfit for a Sovereign to direct or an honest man to perform." This was to assist in carrying through the great measure of the projected Union of the Two Kingdoms. For this purpose he came to Edinburgh in October, 1706; and, by attending the committees of Parliament, by furnishing the necessary details in matters of commerce and revenue, while the several Articles of Union were under discussion, and, by unwearied endeavours to dispel "National Prejudices," in his answers to the numerous pamphlets which were issued against a measure that was extremely unpopular, he is acknowledged to have rendered essential service in promoting the object of his mission. Soon after his arrival, he published, "*Caledonia, a Poem, in Honour of Scotland and of the Scots Nation*;" but this did not keep him from being exposed to personal danger, and in a popular tumult, he tells us, "by the prudence of his friends, the shortness of its continuance, and God's providence," he escaped the fury of the mob.

DE FOE must have visited Scotland more than once. At a late period of life he added to his "*Journey through England*" a similar volume on Scotland. But it was during his former residence in this country that he collected the materials for his large work, the "*History of the Union*," which appeared in 1709, and also for his "*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*." Several years, however, elapsed after the close of what may be called his political life before he published the latter work. At this time no *Wodrow* had appeared with zealous and persevering industry to bring together a mass of original papers and written documents illustrating the History and Sufferings of the Church, during the times of persecution, and to furnish materials for future historians. The greater praise, therefore, is due to *DE FOE* for his "disinterested zeal to do justice and service to the people of Scotland, and to a cause which (he says) he had much at heart;" having, in fact, been instrumental, during the negotiations for the Treaty of Union, in securing the privileges of the Presbyterian Church as an Establishment. At the same time he expresses his concern that a fuller narrative had not been presented to the public, to, "do justice, not to the Church of Scotland only, but to the memory and families of the

particular sufferers and confessors, who have sacrificed themselves in defence of religion, in that part of Great Britain." "This consideration," he says, "has made an officious stranger concern himself in the work. He could not bear to think that the memory of the most glorious scene of action, and the most dismal scene of suffering which the Church of Scotland has passed through, should lie buried in their own ashes, and not a man to be found who would effectually employ himself, and set seriously about the work of ransoming things of such consequence from the grave of forgetfulness." For this end he not only examined the printed authorities, such as Knox, Buchanan, Spottiswood, and Calderwood, and applied, while on the spot, to living witnesses for information as to the sufferings of the Covenanters, he also diligently gathered up additional facts from oral tradition; and the following "Memoirs" present the result of his labours.

In reference to DE FOE's "Memoirs of the Church," the observations of Mr Wilson, his latest biographer,* are so just and appropriate as to supersede any further attempt to characterise the present work. After noticing the sources of the author's information, he says—"In the use of his authorities, he has discovered no less judgment than research, whilst he writes with a feeling and pathos that shew how deeply he was interested in the events as they passed before him."—"As a compendious narrative of an important period in the Scottish history, DE FOE's work will always retain its interest both for the value of its facts and the felicitous manner in which they are related." A recent biographer of DE FOE remarks, with equal taste and judgment—"His narrative of the earlier part of the eventful history of the Presbyterian Church may be perused with pleasure, even by those who have lived to see the same period treated of by the greatest historical writer of the present day, Dr M'Crie; while his representations of the more recent troubles in the times of the Covenanters, his descriptions of the battles of Claverhouse, and the cruelties of the persecution under James II., need scarcely shrink from a comparison with some of the most picturesque passages in the first 'Tales of my Landlord.'"+ There are, perhaps, few English writers to whom the Church of Scotland owes so many obligations as to DE FOE, who watched her interests with fidelity and affection, at a time when she was threatened by powerful enemies, and defended her with a zeal and ability which could only be expected from a warm friend and admirer. His "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland" has never been reprinted, and is now amongst the scarcest of his works."

As none of DE FOE's biographers seem to have been aware of the circumstance, it may be noticed that some copies of the original edition of his "Memoirs of the Church," after the Author's death, having remained in the publisher's hands, the title-page, dated 1717, was cancelled, and a new one substituted, as follows:—"An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland: Containing the State of the Church of that Nation, from the Time of Queen Mary to the Union of the Two Kingdoms, being the space of 154 years. London: printed for Charles Marsh, at the Bible in Angel-Court, near Story's Passage, Westminster, M.DCC.XXXIV." The first leaf of the text is likewise reprinted, substituting the words "An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," instead of "Memoirs," &c., but no other alteration was made. The present republication is in all respects an accurate copy of the original edition.

DE FOE died, in his native parish of St Giles, Cripplegate, London, in April, 1731. L.

FEBRUARY 28, 1844.

* *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel Defoe.* By Walter Wilson, Esq., vol., iii p. 419. London. 1830. 3 vols., 8vo.

† Preface to Cadell's edition of "Robinson Crusoe."

MEMOIRS OF THE CHURCH OF *SCOTLAND,*

IN FOUR PERIODS.

- I. The Church in her Infant-State,
from the Reformation to the Queen
Mary's Abdication.
- II. The Church in its growing State,
from the Abdication to the Restora-
tion.
- III. The Church in its persecuted State,
from the Restoration to the Revo-
lution.
- IV. The Church in its present State,
from the Revolution to the Union.

WITH AN
APPENDIX, of some Transactions
since the UNION.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Eman. Matthews* at the *Bible*, and *T. Warner* at the *Black-Boy*, both in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1717.

[THE AUTHOR'S] PREFACE.

THE following Work seems to have as little need of a Preface as any of the kind that has been publish'd in this Age : It is hoped it is it self but a Preface, or Introduction to some larger and fuller History, that may, by better Hands, *some time or other*, do Justice, not to the Church of *Scotland* only, but to the Memory and Families of the particular Sufferers and Confessors, who have sacrificed themselves in Defence of Religion, in that Part of *Great Britain*.

It is a moving Reflexion, that these larger and fuller Accounts have been so often promised, and so long ago undertaken by several able and worthy Hands, and that yet nothing has been finished, in a Cause wherein History is so much in debt to Truth ; we see no full Account yet given, and 'tis to be feared will not be given in our Age.

This Consideration has made an officious Stranger concern himself in the Work ; he could not bear to think, that the Memory of the most glorious Scene of *Action*, and the most dismal scene of *Suffering*, which the Church of *Scotland* has passed through, should lie buried in their own Ashes, and not a Man to be found who would effectually employ himself, and set seriously about the Work of ransoming things of such Consequence from the Grave of Forgetfulness.

For this Reason he has applied himself, by *Books*, by *just Authorities*, by *Oral-Tradition*, by *living Witnesses*, and by all other rational Means, to make himself sufficiently Master of the *Matters of Fact* ; at least to furnish out Memoirs, tho' not a perfect History, of these Things ; and to endeavour to restore the general Knowledge of these great Transactions to the Use of Posterity, till some more large and particular Account of these things shall appear.

I shall say nothing to the Performance, but this, that I have endeavoured carefully to adhere to Truth of Fact, and to have it told so evidently and clearly, that it may not be misunderstood by the Ignorant, or misrepresented by the malicious Part of Mankind in Ages to come.

The Author recommends the Work to the Candor of impartial Readers ; and if any Mistakes are to be found, tho' he has been critically careful to avoid them, he desires they may be placed to the Account of a disinterested Zeal to do Justice and Service to the People of *Scotland*, and to a Cause which he had too much at Heart to let lie neglected any longer, how many Imperfections soever might happen in his Performance.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

PART I.

OF THE CHURCH IN HER INFANT STATE.

WHOEVER enquires narrowly into the Subject I am now entering upon, I mean the Church of *Scotland*, will find it a meer *Terra incognita*, a vast Continent of hidden, undiscovered Novelties; and will find himself surprised, to the last Degree, that Things so near us should be so entirely hid from us.

Not that there is any thing monstrous or unheard of in the Constitution or Circumstances of this Church, much less in her Profession and Practise; but that she has been represented to the World in so many monstrous Shapes, drest up in so many *Devil's Coats*, and *Fool's Coats*, charg'd with so many Heresies, Errors, Schisms, and Antichristianisms by the Mob of this slandering Generation, that when a Man comes to view her in her original Reformation, her subsequent Settlement, her many Revolutions, Convulsions, and Catastrophes, in her subjected, persecuted State, and now in her glorious Restoration and Establishment, nothing can be more wonderful in humane Affairs, than to see how Mankind has been imposed upon about her, and with what Front the Absurdities charg'd on her could be broach'd in the World.

When we view the Soundness and Purity of her DOCTRINE, the Strictness and Severity of her DISCIPLINE, the Decency and Order of her WORSHIP, the Gravity and Majesty of her GOVERNMENT: When we see the Modesty, Humility, and yet Steadiness of her Assemblies; the Learning, Diligence, and Painfulness of her Ministers; the awful Solemnity of her Administration; the Obedience, Seriousness, and Frequency of her People in hearing, and universally an Air of Sobriety and Gravity on the whole Nation; we must own her to be, at this Time, the best regulated national Church in the World, without Reflection upon any of the other Nations where the Protestant Religion is establish'd and profess'd.

I am not comparing the Constitutions of Churches, neither shall I enter into an invidious Comparison here between the Circumstances of this Church and the Church of *England*.—Let them fight that Quarrel out with the Pen and Ink by themselves. But this, I believe, I may challenge the Nations for, in the Name of the Church of *Scotland*, That as to obeying their Constitution, as to preserving the Purity of Doctrine and Worship, as to enacting good Laws, and maintaining a strict Observance of them, no Body of Men in the World come up to them.

I know the Church of *England* have Canons and Injunctions, which when People defend her, they argue from; and those Canons and Injunctions are far less liable to Objection, than those who only guess by her Practice, may imagine: For, when they come to examine how her Ministers obey those Canons, and how they are punish'd when they break them, *Hic labor, hoc opus*, This is the most monstrous thing in the World, and confirms what was said by a Divine of the Church of *England*, (viz.) That no Nation or Church, in these Parts of the World, have so good Laws so ill regarded as they.*

Nor shall I examin here whence a Thing so justly scandalous to the Church of *England* proceeds; 'tis not the Work of this Piece, in which the State of the Church of *Scotland*, not of the Church of *England*, is my Theme: But when I have shewn therein the Advantages, which the Church of *Scotland* reaps by a Strictness of Discipline, peculiar to her self; and that Discipline exactly executed in every Part; and how by this she seems qualified to be the Church in the World, the hardest to be invaded by Errors and Schisms, and perfectly invulnerable by Heresies and Corruptions, we must be very blind in *England*, if we do not see, that the Slackness and Remissness in Discipline is the only Door at which all the notorious Errors and Heresies, now swarming in the *English* Church, are crept in; such as Arianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, Scepticism, Atheism, Deism, and the new ridiculous Corruptions, Notions, and Novelties of *Dodwell*, *Coward*, *Agill*, and others, who call themselves of the Church of *England*, and are daily filling the World with Absurdities in Religion, not fit to be suffered in a Protestant Church or Government.

Did the Convocation of the Church of *England* do their Duty, who often times sit long, and do little; did they, in Time, check the Growth of these Things; did they call in the Aid of the Civil Authority, to curb the Exorbitance of the Press, and exercise their Ecclesiastick Authority in that of the Pulpit; in short, were they as exact in their Discipline, as grave in their Censures, and as strict in the Pursuit of such Things as the Church of *Scotland*, Errors and Heresies would creep, like other venomous Creatures, upon the Ground, grovel in the Dust,

* See Dr. *Edward's* Testimony to the Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*, in his Sermon on the Union.

and come out but in the Dark ; such Crimes would be acted as Crimes, and the Guilty would hide themselves, like *Adam*, among the Bushes ; and not bully Religion, and affront God Almighty to his Face ; laugh at Church Discipline, and banter Civil Justice as now they do every Day.

But in *Scotland*, I take upon me with Boldness to assure the World, it is not so ; no Error broached, lies brooding like hot Embers laid among dry Buildings, neglected till it sets all in a Flame : No ignorant Person can gain Admittance to, no immoral Person obtain Connivance in the Pulpit ; no Error there escapes Censure, no Censure dies there for Want of Prosecution. If any Breach be made, the Church Judicatories never fail to keep it in the stated Forms of Proceeding, where it cannot sleep ; the guilty Person must be brought either to Repentance or to Punishment.

If there is any Breach in this Order, any Stop in the free Exercise of their Authority, or any Interruption to the full Extent of the Church's Power in Censure, it proceeds either (1.) from the exorbitant Power of the Gentry and Nobility, who, often especially when their own Guilt is the Question, stand out to Extremity against Church-Censures, and think themselves too great for the Authority of the Ecclesiastick Judicatories.—Or (2.), from the Looseness of the Episcopal Dissenters, who, as they separate in Worship, so they would be understood to be excused from Discipline.—Of both which I shall speak at large in their Place, and only note it here, That even in both these Cases, there are Instances wherein the highest and most obstinate have thought fit to submit to the Discipline of the Church, either convinc'd of its Justice, or loath to have the just Reproach of the Opposition entailed upon their Posterity.—In which Case *Scotland* is not without Instances, where her Noblemen have accepted a Rebuke for the Breaches of their Morals in the open Congregation.—But of all this I shall be more particular in its Place.

In these Judicatories the admirable Order of Proceeding is such, that it seems impossible any Man can be oppress'd ; for he is able to appeal so often, the Cause shall be heard so often, and by such different Judges, that he cannot fail of Justice. On the other Hand, the Subordination of Judicatories is such, and the Proceedings so nicely accounted for by the Kirk-Sessions to the Presbyteries, by the Presbyteries to the Provincial Synods, and by the Synods to the General Assemblies, that there can no Mistake pass unobserved, no Complaint can pass unheard, no Grievance unrectified.

I shall not insist on the Particulars here ; because I shall give it at large in the Scheme I purpose to draw of the State of these Judicatories in this Church ; to which I refer.

But what I am upon here is, that by this Means you have the fewest Breaches made upon this Church by the Defection or Degeneracy of either Ministers or People, among themselves, of any Church in the World ; and this, I believe, will very remarkably appear in the subsequent Sheets.

To give a true and concise Scheme of the State of this Church, it will be needful to go back to its original Constitution, which I shall only abridge, and take no more of it, than is needful to hand down a right Understanding of its Circumstances to the present Time. And this is the Design of these Memoirs.

It began to reform from Popery in the Year 1557, being sometime before the Reformation in *England*. Not but that the Seeds of the Protestant Religion were sown, and the Protestant Doctrine spread very

far in private even before that ; as may appear by the several Confessors for the Truth, who were put to Death under the Administration of the Queen-Regent, by the Assistance and particular Fury of the Cardinal *Beton*, of which presently.

But this will be farther evident by entering into an Examination of Matters in *England*. For after the Death of *James V*, *Henry VIII*, K. of *England*, sending Ambassadors openly to treat of a Marriage* for his Son, with the Queen of *Scotland*, the said Treaty and Marriage being proposed in Parliament, was so openly contradicted by the Priests in general, with the Queen Dowager, a French Woman, and Cardinal *Beton* at the Head of them, that the Cardinal was confined till the Question was put in the Parliament.

And tho' when the Cardinal was thus removed, the Matter was soon concluded, yet the Cardinal making his Escape out of Prison, he and the Popish Faction so ordered Affairs that the Articles could never be executed, nor the Hostages, agreed on, obtained.

A cruel War followed on this, the King of *England* resenting all these Indignities : Which War, and the Calamities it brought with it, together with the Confusions in the Regency of the Earl of *Arras*, occasioned by the Policy and Cruelty of the Cardinal *Beton*, gave the People a greater Liberty than otherwise they would have had ; so that the Protestant Religion, then particularly called *Lutheranism*, got a great deal of Ground ; and not only were the common People enclined to it, but a great many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* favoured the Reformation : Nay, so far had it obtained, that some Towns began to own it in Bulk : And *Buchanan* records it, and from him I hand it down to Posterity for the particular Honour of the Town of *Dundee*, that they were the only Town in *Scotland* that was then addicted to the Protestant Religion : Or, which the Sense will very well bear if the History of the Time be examined, the Town of *Dundee* was the first Protestant Town in *Scotland*, and therefore the Cardinal would not venture to receive the Earl of *Roths* and *Patrick Gray*, who, it seems, favour'd the Reformation, in that Town, but fled to *Perth*.

This was the Time when, at *Perth*, they burnt a Woman and her Infant, because she would not call on the *Virgin-Mary* when she was in Travail.—And having vowed the Destruction of the Reformed, they came to *Dundee*, to search for such as read the New Testament : And then it was that they raised† a Report among the poor People, that the New Testament was written by *Luther*, and therefore to be rejected as an heretical Book. But, it seems, the honest People of *Dundee*, like true *Berams*, enquired farther into the Matter, and have retained their better Knowledge to this Day.

That the Popish Clergy apprehended a general Revolution in the Affairs of Religion, and saw a strong Inclination to that Change in the People, was apparent from their Vigilance and Subtlety in rejecting the Offer of an Inter-marriage with *England*, first made by King *Henry VIII*, in the

* King *Hen. VIII.* sent *Ja.* 5th Books, &c. See *Buch.* lib. 14. fol. 63.

† *Buch.* lib. 15. fol. 157.—Sed Cardinalis, parum tatum ratus duos Homines nobiles, et factiosos, et bene Comitatus in epidum recipere, unum instauratus religioni addictissimum, egit cum prorege, ut *Pertham* rediret.

‡ Tantaq ; erat Coscitas, ut Sacerdotum pleriq ; contenderent, Novum Testamentum nuper à Martino *Luthero* fuisse scriptum. *Ibid.* fol. 157.

Time of *James V of Scotland*, and afterwards their running headlong into a War with *England*, rather than consent to match their Queen, then an Infant, to Prince *Edward*, afterwards *Edward VI*, King of *England*. The true Reason of which appeared to be, least the *English* Reformation should be imposed upon them.

This Obstinacy was so great, as that had the *English* pursued their Design with Force, after the Battle at *Pinkie*, they might have ruined *Scotland* very much, their Queen being a Child, and the Nobility much divided among themselves.—And yet the *Scots*, tho' their Army was overthrown, and their Country over-run by the *English*, rejected the Match, and privily conveyed their young Queen into *France*. And all this for fear of a Reformation.

This was all from the Subtily of the Popish Clergy, as is evident through the whole Course of the Histories of those Times.—The Priests had in vain opposed the growing Reformation with the unprevailing Remedies of Fire and Faggot: The burning of *Patrick Hamilton*, at *St. Andrews*; a Gentleman of noble Extract, was rather a Help than a Hindrance to the Reformation; of whom *George Buchanan* says, he dy'd by the* *Conspiracy of the Priests*. And the Story of the *Dominican Friar*, whom he having convinc'd of the Truth of his Doctrine, afterwards betrayed him, and witnessed against him, is very remarkable: For when *Patrick Hamilton*, at his Death, appealed to his Conscience that he believ'd, and was convinc'd of the Truth of what he persecuted him for, the Friar, struck with the Conviction, ran distracted immediately, and died mad.—This, says the same Author,† much terrified the Minds of the People.

Afterwards in the Year 1539, Five more were burnt at *St. Andrews*, many persecuted to Banishment, and some recanted. Among the Banished‡ *George Buchanan* says himself was one, but that he made his Escape out of Prison.

How the Priests managed King *James the V*, a Prince, as *Buchanan* says,§ naturally superstitious; how they corrupted his Courtiers, how they flattered him on the giving to them the Books sent him by the King of *England*; how they, by the meer Force of Money, prevailed upon him first to delay, and afterwards to break off the Interview appointed between him and the King of *England*, and how all this was for Fear of the growing Reformation in *England*, and the introducing it in *Scotland*, is so

* *Buchanan. rerum Scoticarum*, lib. 14. fol. 146. Eo quoq; anno, *Patricius Hamiltonius* à *Johannis Duclis Albani* sorore, ex fratre *Comitis Aranis*, natu, Juvenis ingenio summo & eruditione singulari, conjuratione Sacerdotum oppressus, ad Fanum *Andree* vivus est crematus.

† *Ibid.* Animos Hominum conterruit *Alexandri Cambelli* Mora.

See the story in *Buchanan*, fol. 146. Is erat à Sodalitio *Dominicanorum*——to mortem obijt.

‡ *Book* lib. 14. fol. 150. Initio anni proximi qui fuit M.D. xxxix, *Lutheranismi* suspecti complures capti sunt. Sub finem *Februarii*; quinque Cremati: Novem recantantur: Complures exilio damnati. In his fuit *Georgius Buchananus*, qui asepitis custodibus per cubiculi fenestram evaserat.

§ His velut machinis admotis cum regis animum superstitionibus obnoxium labefactasset, tum corruptis, qui plurimum poterant aulicis, magnam per eos regi pecunie vim polliciti, penitus cum a colloquio averterunt, *Ibid.* fol. 149.

plain in History, that I need only refer the Readers to the Particulars which they will find in *Calderwood*, *Spotswood*, and *Buchanan*, the last of whom, (viz.) *Buchanan*, speaks it plainly, that the Priests* had this in their View.

And yet in all this, *Scotland* had an unforeseen Advantage, viz. That having been obliged, by these things, to defer the Reformation, I mean, as a publick Action; they had Leisure thereby to see the Defects of the *English* Reformation, which happened in the mean time, and going a Step farther, to leave out some Things which the *English* retained; and which, by the Error of the Times, got such deep Root there, as never to be altered to this Day: Such as the Supremacy, prescribed Rites and Ceremonies, and which they esteem'd also a Defect, *Episcopacy*: Which Things, as they began now to be objected against in *England* by several of the best and most eminent for Piety in the first Reformation, so they obtained not at all in *Scotland*; but *John Knox*, whom, for this, I think I may call the Father of the Church of *Scotland*, going over to *Geneva*, and there conferring with the most eminent Protestant Divines concerning the Model of Church Government, which should be most agreeable to Scripture-Institution, he brought over the Figure of a Church as to Worship, Discipline, and Government, the same which we find now establish'd.

It would be too long a Work for these Memoirs to set down here the Beginning, Progress, Manner, and Issue of the first Reformation: It may be sufficient to note here the Heads of it, and withal, the different Manner of it from that in *England*, which produced that Effect mentioned above, viz. a differing Form of Settlement.

In *England* the Reformation, as to the Settlement of it, began in the Crown, the several Kings put the first Hand to it: As 1. King *Henry VIII*, by dethroning the Pope's Supremacy, demolishing the religious Houses, forbidding Appeals to *Rome*, and the like. 2. King *Edward VI*, by a general Overthrow of all the Popish Hierarchy, casting their Images out of the Churches, their Mass, and all their *Romish* Innovations out of their Worship, dethroning their whole Authority, and rooting out the Remains of their Ceremonies from the Nation.

But this had two Effects.

1. That when King *Henry VIII* abolish'd the Pope's Supremacy, his Principle at that time being rather Politick than Religious, he set his own Authority up in the stead of it, calling himself supream Head of the Church in all Things, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil; a Thing since made very ill use of, and improv'd to a Tyranny, which neither in the Divine or Humane Original of it could find any legal Foundation.

2. That when King *Edward* rejected the Pontificate of *Rome*, he yet erected a Protestant Pontificate in its stead, which being soon opposed by some of the most eminent for Piety and Wisdom in the Reformation, quickly begot a Division in the Church, which has since been carried on to that Height, and increased to the Magnitude which we see this Day.

3. King *Edward*, and the first Reformers, when they came to the Matters of Worship, did not wholly destroy the Model, but reform'd it only; and tho' I am willing to believe they, to the Extent of

* Demum Sacerdotes, qui pro aris ac focus sibi certandum videbant, *Jacobum Betonium Fani Andree* Aehiepisopum & *Georgium Chrichtonium* Caledoniæ Episcopum, senes invalidos, ad aulam pertraxerant, fremere religionem, hoc congressu prodi, &c. *Ibid.* fol. 149.

their Light, honestly design'd to leave out all that was superstitious and idolatrous in the former, and did really believe it was so; yet they thought themselves obliged to retain a Similitude of Form.

Nor do we since so much object against the Form, less against a Form in general; but against prescribing that Form as a Term of Communion.

These are the Three Heads which have since caused so much Dispute in *England*, made unhappy Breaches in the common Charity, and risen up to such large Divisions as we see at this Day.

But to return to the *Scots*, their Reformation began quite in another Manner.—The knowledge of the Scriptures began the first Step to it, and the *English Bible* got in among the People very quickly: Some eminent, for Learning, even among the Popish Zealots, began to be enlightened by the Reading the Word of God: And as Knowledge is naturally diffusive, so this Kind, having an invisible Instructor to second it, I mean the holy Spirit of God, spread secretly, but swiftly, through the Nation.

Among those, whom it pleased God to make use of as the first Instruments in this glorious Work, was *George Wishart*, and several others, who became eminent: They were bold and steady Preachers of the Reformation, and the People of all sorts became so addicted to the Protestant Religion, by their Instruction, that after the Regent, by the Instigation of Cardinal *Beton*, had consented to the Martyrdom of that great and good Man Mr. *Wishart*, *Buchanan* tells us the whole Nation began* to disreliah his Government.

'Twould be endless to recite the Names, Lives, and Death of the many Preachers who, at first, with the extremest Hazard, and with a Constancy, even to Martyrdom, spread the reformed Doctrines through *Scotland*. It suffices to note, that in a few Years it had such Success, that in general the whole Kingdom seemed to be touch'd with the Sense of the true Religion, and not the common People only, but the Nobility and Gentry embraced it with great Zeal, Eagerness, and Resolution; and in this Case the Affairs of the Church of *Scotland* stood, when the Regent was persuaded by the *French* Court to demit, and to resign his Government into the Hands of the Queen Mother.—

This Lady being wholly *French*, and acted by their Counsels, set herself with more Heat, than Discretion, to suppress the reformed Religion, and, as she flattered her self, to extirpate the Beginnings of it out of *Scotland*; but she found her self mistaken, it was now too late; the Thing had taken too deep Root in the Hearts of the People for her to master it.

However, for Two Years, Matters of Religion slept, the Queen being married to the Dauphin of *France*, the Regent taken up by a War with *England*: And the Clergy, tho' cruel and bloody enough, yet being balked by the Murder of Cardinal *Beton*, (who was slain in his Bed-Chamber, as *George Wishart* had predicted, and cast out of a Window by *Norman Lesley*, Son to the Earl of *Rothel*, and his Followers) they wanted a Head to prosecute the

Reformers to Blood, and a Power to protect them in it.

All this while the Reformed held their private Assemblies, where they had their Worship in their own Language, and had frequent Conferences upon religious Matters; for as yet they had no publick Preaching: However, by this Means the Work of Reformation still spread it self, and took deep Root in the Nation.

The first popular Discovery this made in the Minds of the Commonality was, in the city of *Edenburgh*, when the Shrine of St. *Giles*, the Patron of that city, was robbed of its Relicks, which they had in so much Veneration.

The 1st of *September*, it seems, was the Festival of this tutelar Saint, when his Image was to be carried in Procession about the City, and the Queen Regent resolved to be present at the Solemnity: But when they came to look for the Saint, he was pleased to suffer himself to be stolen away, to the great Confusion of the Clergy, who had pleased themselves with the Expectation of the Procession, and the Honour done them by the Regent to grace the Show.

However, to make up the Matter as well as they could, they made another Image to set in the Pageant, and began their Procession in the usual Form.—After the Show had passed the principal parts of the City, and the Queen Regent was retired, the Mob rose upon the Priests, and put an End to their Pageantry: For they pulled St. *Giles* out of his Throne, which was erected on the Shoulders of the Priests, threw his Saintship into the Dirt, and in short, the sacred Image suffered immediate Martyrdom. But the Priests had no Mind to die with their Deity; for they fled every Man as he could.—And yet this they need not have done, for the Rabble offered no Body any Injury but the wooden Idol, which they broke all to pieces, and so departed.

This, however, might give the Regent a Taste of what Posture the Affairs of Religion were in, if she had pleased to have taken Notice of it. However, she countenanced the Priests to go on with all the persecuting Methods they could, tho' every where they met with Insults, Slights, and Contempt from the People: As particularly when citing *Paul Mefen* of *Dundee*, before them, and he not appearing, was intercommuned; that is, every one was forbid to harbour, or relieve him, or converse with him, on severe Penalties: which yet the brave Citizens of *Dundee* openly disregarded, and protected him, entertained him in their Houses, and sued to the Regent to remit his Banishment.

But things were now coming to a greater Height; for the Asserters of the reformed Religion resolved not to bear any longer the Oppressions and Invasions of the Clergy, but to demand their Liberty in a different Manner from what had formerly been done.

They had calculated their Right first, and then their Strength: They found that if they were proceeded against by Law, they could not be hurt, for they had offended no Law; and if their Enemies had recourse to Arms, they were more numerous than they, and would defend themselves. Upon these Resolutions, several were sent abroad by their Brethren to concert Measures, and to form themselves into something of a Body.

These were eminent Persons, as *Buchanan** ob-

* *Buch.* lib. 15. fol. 163. Ob hanc Imperitiam Regni gerendi, totiusq; vite segnitiam, cum animos etiam vulgi prorox offendisset, tum ob alia indies fiebat vilior: Præcipue post sublatum Georgium Suphocardium, maxima parte hominum secutas calamitates in religione vertente: Sed iis maxime, qui non modo puritatem doctrinæ & vite totius moderationem in Georgio suspiciebant: Sed qui multis & ejus veracissimis predicationibus persuasi visa futuri perspicendi divinitus ei inditam credebant.

* *Buchan.* lib. 16. fol. 167. Inter hæc quidam viri nobiles à *Fyfa* maxime & *Angusia*, ac aliquot opidorum cives illustriores.

serves, which may serve to answer those who alledge, that the Reformation in *Scotland* was the Effect only of the Fury of the Rabble.—They went severally, to the remotest Parts of the Kingdom,* moving the Gentlemen and Towns to adhere to the mutual Defence of Religion, and to stand by one another.

These carried with them† Tables, as *Buchanan* calls them; for those that were willing to join with them, to subscribe their Names. I take this to be something in the Nature of an Association, for their mutual Defence, in case they should meet with any more Violences, as they were sure to do. And to this was added the Assurance, as it was call'd, which some call'd the first Covenant, and is as follows :

The first Covenant of Scotland, 1557.

WE perceiving how Satan in his Members, the Antichrists of our Time, cruelly does rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden Duty, to strive in our Master's Cause, even unto the Death, being certain of the Victory in him: The which our Duty being well considered, we do promise, before the Majesty of God, and his Congregation, that we (by his Grace) shall with all Diligence continually apply our whole Power, Substance, and our very Lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and his Congregation: And shall labour according to our Power to have faithful Ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's Gospel and Sacraments to his People. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every Member thereof according to our whole Powers, and waging of our Lives, against Satan and all wicked Power that doth intend Tyranny or Trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which holy Word and Congregation, we do join us; and so do forsake and renounce the Congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious Abomination and Idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare our selves manifestly Enemies thereto, by this our faithful Promise before God, testified to this Congregation, by our Subscription of these presents. At *Edinburgh* the Third of December, anno 1557. God called to witness. Sic subscribitur

A. Earle of Argyll.	Archibald, Ld. of Lorne.
Glencarne.	John Erskine of Dun,
Mortoun.	Et cetera.

Soon after this they sent their Proposals to the Queen Regent by Sir *James Sandelands of Calder*, which contained in short these Particulars.

1. "That the Worship of God, Prayers and Sacraments might be had in the vulgar Tongue.
2. "That scandalous Ministers might be removed.

* In omnes Scotiæ præfecturas dispersi hortabantur universos ut sinceram divinæ legis prædicationem amarent, *Ibid.* fol. 167.

† Quibus hæc placerent Tabulas ea de te confectas quibus subscriberent offerunt. *Ib.* folio ut supra.

‡ *John Knox* in his History of the Reformation, calls it, in his marginal Note, The first Covenant of Scotland, and gives the Copy of it, lib. i. p. 110. but I conceive it was not properly so called; for that the Covenant was not formed till some time after, and this was therefore only called a common Bond.

3. "That the People might have the Choice of their own Ministers."

This was called the Oration and Petition of the Protestants of *Scotland* to the Queen Regent, and is at length printed in the said History of the Reformation, lib. 2, p. 127, 128, 129. But is too long to recite here.

The Parliament soon after this sat down, which was in December Anno 1558, and the Reformers presented a Letter to them also, including their Requests, and annexed to it a solemn Protestation, which they demanded to be registred at the same Time that they delivered it.

The Regent's Answer to this Protestation was mild, and such as deceived the Reformers for a while: Her Answer was thus—*Me will remember what is protest. Me wil put good Order in all thing that now controverce.* Note, the Regent was a French Woman, and spoke broken English.

The Regent all this while dealt cautiously and subtilly; for she guess'd wisely that the People who durst make these Demands, must have some Prospect of Power to support them; and she dreaded the Tumults of the Rabble: She therefore consented, in Shew, to some things, as particularly, to let them have their Worship in the vulgar Tongue, on Condition it should be without Tumult, and that they should not preach publicly in *Leith* or *Edinburgh*.

For some time, it seems, the Reformed contented themselves with this, and kept the Injunctions of the Regent exactly; but the Priests were furious, to the last Degree, at these things, and made all possible Opposition, till at last they drove things to the Extremities which followed, and pav'd the Way for their own Overthrow.

They held their Meetings to consult for the Suppressing the Reformed, and had all the Assistance underhand that the Queen Regent could give them; but she still carried it fair to the Reformers, and answered them mildly, leading them on in Hopes.

At last she threw off the Mask, and openly protest her Resolution to destroy them; that she would not suffer the Majesty of the Government to be debased, but would restore it to its ancient Veneration by some remarkable Thing.

I am content to acknowledge I follow *Buchanan* in these Notes upon the Affairs of those Days; because tho' other Historians are more particular than he, yet the Enemies of the Reformation are not without Objections against the Reputation of their Writings, whereas *Buchanan's* Reputation, as an Historian, is unquestioned, even by his greatest Enemies. I find them also all agree, in Substance, with him. He is also concise, and more pertinent than some of them; and all Sides acknowledge him to be authentick and faithful. But this by the Way.

The Queen, as I have noted, dealt for a while mildly with the Reformers, but it lasted not long; for they were obliged to come to a Point with her; And therefore not to be wanting to themselves, as well as at the same Time to behave decently to the Regent, they sent the Earl of *Glencairn*, *Hugh Campbell*, Sheriff of *Air*, and others, to entreat her favourable Answer to their Desires.

The Queen Regent, now casting off the Mask, gave her Passion a full Vent, and told them,* in so many Words, they had nothing to expect from her.—

* *Buchan.* lib. 16. fol. 168. *Ibi* non se potuit continere, quin vocem impietatis testem profunderet, Invitia, inquit, vobis, vestrisque ministris isti, etsi paulo sincerius concionabuntur, tamen exulabunt.

They calmly reminded her of her Promises to them, but in vain : She told them in effect, * *Princes were not bound by the Promises which they were obliged to make in the Exigence of their Affairs.*—The Protestants finding such Usage as this, and knowing as well what they were to expect, as their own Strength to resist it, *boldly defied her*, and told her to her Face,† that they then renounced all Obedience to her, and advised her to consider the Consequences of it.

Now the Fire was kindled, and the Flame began to burn out, and tho' the Queen Regent was rather enraged by their Boldness than made *thoughtful*, yet she soon found the Differences of Things ; she found her Authority to decrease, and her Commands every where slighted : *For Example*, she commanded the *Proceß* of St. Johnston, now called *Perth*, to suppress the Innovation of Religion there ; he answered, that he had no Dominion over their Conscience : She commanded the Sheriff of Dundee to send *Paul Meffen*, their Protestant Minister, bound to her, instead of which the Sheriff sent to Mr. *Meffen*, to tell him, that he might secure himself : She wrote to the Neighbour Assemblies, to observe *Easter* as usual, after the *Roman* way, but not one of them obeyed her.

Upon this she cited all the Ministers of Scotland to appear at *Stirling*, on the 10th of May 1559 ; but they came there with such Attendants, and so numerous, *tho' warn'd* ; that it frighted the Regent out of her Design, and made her entreat *John Erskine* of Dun, a Lover of the Religion, and that could influence them by himself, that he would disperse the People, giving her Promise at the same Time to act Nothing against the Reformers.—But see the Faith kept at that Time with Protestants : As soon as on those Promises the honest Men were returned home, she held the Meeting intended, called over the Names, and outlawed those that were absent for Contempt.

The Nobility and Gentry assembled with the Ministers, finding in what Manner they were to be used, that the Queen was wholly bent for their Destruction, and neither to be bound by Promises, or any other Obligation, and that their Ruin was absolutely determined, prepared for Force, resolving to defend themselves.

And now began the Fury of the People to break out a little beyond the Bounds which the better sort designed ; for the Mob at *Perth*, says *Buchanan*, on Mr. *John Knox's* preaching a Sermon to them against Idolatry, took Fire at the Hint, and immediately fell to breaking down the Images in all the Churches and Monasteries at *Perth*. Other Historians say, This was upon the Laird of Dun's giving them an Account of the Falshood and Injustice of the Queen to the Ministers at the Meeting at *Stirling*, and give a very particular Account, introduced thus : 'The Laird of Dun, coming to St. Johnston, exposed the Case even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the Queen's Craft and Falshood, which being understood, the Multitude was so inflamed, that neither could the Exhortation of the Preachers, nor the Commandment of the Magistrates stay them from destroying the Places of Idolatry.' *Vide Knox's History of the Reformation, lib. 2. fol.*

* Respondit, fidem promissorum a principibus exigendam, quatenus eam præstare commodum eis videretur. *Ib.*

† Ad hæc illi subjecerunt, Se ergo omne obsequium & parendi necessitatem ei renunciare, atque præmonuerunt, quantum incommodum esset ab hoc fonte Emanaturum. *Ib.*

136. Be it which way it will, whether by Mr. *Knox's* Sermon, who, it is true, did preach at that Time against Idolatry ; or by the Laird of Dun's giving them an Account of the Queen Regent's Behaviour, this is certain, that here the demolishing of Images, &c. began ; the *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, and *Carthusians* were immediately pull'd out of their Houses, and all they had was plundered and wreck'd : The Nobility and arm'd Men, with an unusual Moderation, avoided all Appearance of enriching themselves by this Work, and let the Priests go away laden with Gold and Silver. But as for the Buildings, they not only demolished them, but caused their Soldiers to carry away† the very Stones and Rubbish ; so that in some Places they hardly left any Remembrance of them to Posterity.

And now the War was begun in earnest ; for the breaking down of Images, and pulling down Monasteries began to spread over the whole Country : The Town of *Cowper* followed that of *Perth*, and the Friars and Ecclesiasticks began every where to shift for themselves, all the rest being apprehensive, and not without good Cause, of the same Fate.

The Regent, exasperated to the highest Degree, solemnly swore she would be reveng'd on the City of *Perth*, that she would have the Blood of the Citizens, and burn their City down to the Ground : But she reckon'd without her Host ; for the People let her see how little they feared her ; for that the very same Week several other Towns did the like.—In order therefore to put a Stop to this Sort of Work, she raised an Army, and marched directly against the Protestant Nobility, who, by the way, had ever since the Association, I mentioned before, been called *The Lords of the CONGREGATION* : And the Protestants in general, as then united, were called *The CONGREGATION*.

The Lords of the Congregation, for so I shall now call them, far from being discouraged at the Regent's Preparations, sent Messengers to all their Brethren to come and stand by what they had begun, and not to desert so good a Cause in its last Extremity. And this had such an Effect, that they had soon a very good Army, and 'tis recorded, to the Honour of the Earl of *Glencairn*, that he brought with him 2100 Men, well armed, to their Assistance.

The Queen Regent had rather more Forces than the Congregation, including her French Auxiliaries, but yet she was loth to venture a Battle ; but sends Two Gentlemen who were in her Army, and who were Favourers of the Reformed, to treat with them ; these were the Lord *James Stuart*, and *Gillespy Campbell*, and they to shew their Willingness to hearken to Reason, readily appointed two of their Number, viz. *Alex. Cunningham*, and *John Erskine* of Dun, to treat with her.‡

* Buchan. lib. 16. fol. 169. Atque hæc omnia pauperibus in prædam cesserunt. Nam quibus res erat, adeo se continuerunt ab omni avaritiæ suspitione, ut Monachorum nonnullos ac præcipue fratrum *Carthusiensium* præfectum, aure, atque argento facto discedere onustum permisissent.

† Nec magis fuit incredibilis militarium hominum à præda abstinencia quàm in demolendis tet. Ædificiis Celeritas : *Carthusiensium* enim sedes illæ laxissimæ tam propteranter non modo dirutæ, sed etiam exportatæ fuerunt, ut intra biduum vix fundamentorum vestigia superessent. *Ib.*

‡ Buch. lib. 16. fol. 170. Quos ante nominavi Jacobum Stuartum & Gillespieum Cambellum ad hostem misit. Ex altera parte Alexander Cunninghamius & Johannes Areskinus dunensis electi.

These made, says *Buchanan*, a temporary Agreement; for indeed it was no more. It amounted to a disbanding the Troops on either Side, the Queen was to be admitted into *Perth*, on her Promise not to injure any of the Townsmen, her *French Troops* were not to come within Three Miles of the Town, and all religious Differences were to be left to the next Parliament.

Thus the War, which was just breaking out, was seemingly stopt for a while; but the Queen Regent kept not one of her Articles; for she brought her *Frenchmen* into the City, she exercised all Sorts of Violence on the Citizens, and fell on them by Fines at Pleasure, Change of their Magistrates, Banishment of some, and Murder of others, and, at her Departure, left a Garrison of Mercenaries in the Town.

This Treatment of the Citizens of *Perth*, finished the Ruin of all the Regent's Affairs, and this was the last Day of her Prosperity; for now her Friends began to forsake her; the Lord *James Stuart*, and *Gilespey Campbell*, after Earl of *Argyle*, deserted her; for that having employed them to bring the Lords of the Congregation to an Agreement, she had dishonoured them so much in breaking her Word.

The same Lord *James Stuart*, with the Earl of *Argyle*, join'd themselves soon after to the Congregation: The Regent thinking to revenge her self on *Cowper* and *St. Andrews*, as she had done on *Perth*, they raised the Country again, and sent about to all the Reformed for Help; nor did they fail of Assistance, for the Country came in to them in great Numbers, and so a second Army was raised for the Congregation, and, as *Buchanan* observes, they were so enraged at the perfidious dealing of the Regent, that they resolved to trust her no more, but to overcome or die.

It should be noted here, that at the breaking up of the Meeting of the Lords of the Congregation at *Perth*, when that City was yielded to the Queen Regent, there was another Writing subscribed which Mr. *Knox* calls the *Second Covenant*, and was for mutual Assistance: And to this the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *James Stuart* signed, having before promised, if the Queen broke her Word to the Citizens of *St. Johnston*, they would join with all their Power with the Congregation, as now they did; together with the Lord *Ruthven*, the Earl of *Menteth*, and Lord *Tullibardin*. The Queen sent after them, requiring them to return, on pain of Displeasure; but they boldly rejected her, sending her Word plainly, that, with safe Conscience, they could not be partakers with her in so manifest Tyranny as was by her practised, *Knox lib. 2. p. 152.*

The Second Covenant was as follows:

The Second Covenant at Perth, 1559.

AT *Perth* the last of *May*, the Yeere of God 1559 Yeers, the Congregations of the West

* Ad eos è locis propinquis magna repente accurrit multitudo infensissimis adversus Regentem & ejus copias animis. Quippe cum gente insociabili, & fera bellum esse, apud quam equitas, jus, fas, promissa, fides, & juris jurandi religio tam levi momento penderent, ut ad omnem spei auram, & incertissimos blandientis fortunæ flatus dicta indicta, facta infecta essent. Nullas in posterum conditiones concordie audiendas nullam pacis, nisi altera parte extincta, aut certe peregrinis regno exactis, spem superesse. Proinde se ad vincendum vel moriendum compararent. *Buchan. lib. 16. fol. 169.*

Country, with the Congregations of *Fyfe, Perth, Dundie, Angus, Mearns, and Monroise*, being convened in the Town of *Perth*, in the Name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth of his Glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant Amity, Unity, and Fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bounden and obliged in the Presence of God, to concur and assist together in doing all Things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his Glory; and with their whole Powers to destroy and put away all Things that doth Dishonour to his Name, so that God may be truly and purely worshiped. And in case that any Trouble be intended against the said Congregation, or any Part or Member thereof, the whole Congregation shall concur, assist, and convene together, to the Defence of the same Congregation or Person troubled: And shall not spare Labours, Goods, Substance, Bodies and Lives, in maintaining the Liberty of the whole Congregation, and every Member thereof, against whatsoever Person shall intend the said Trouble for Cause of Religion, or any other Cause depending thereupon, or lay to their Charge under Pretence thereof; although it happen to be coloured with any other outward Cause. In witnessing and Testimony of the which, the whole Congregation aforesaid have ordained and appointed the Noblemen and Persons underwritten, to subscribe these Presents.

Sic subscribitur,

Arch. Argyle, R. Lord Boid, Lord Wchiltrie, James Stewart. Mathew Campbell of Tarmaganart. Glencarne.

The Queen was now in *Fife*, marching to *Cowper*, and from thence intending to *St. Andrews*, where the Lords having designed to go on with the Reformation, had brought Mr. *John Knox* to preach against Idolatry; but the Bishop, terrified with the Thoughts of Reformation in his Cathedral Church, hasted thither with 100 Spearmen, and came into the Town the Evening before. The two Lords, and their Friends, had no Soldiers, only their meer Household-Servants, and the Queen with her Army was but 12 Miles off, viz. at *Faulkland*, nor was the Town yet confirmed in the reformed Religion, and to compleat all, the Arch-Bishop, who had before caused *John Knox* to be burnt in Effigie, sent them Word by Mr. *Robert Coldwell*, Laird of *Cleese*, That if *KNOX* dared to present himself to the Preaching-Place in his Town and Church, he would cause him to be saluted with a Dozen of Culcerins, the most Part of which should light upon his Nose. The Lords deliberated on the Matter, and most were for not exposing Mr. *Knox*; but when they came to consult him he valued no Threats, but boldly resolved to preach, and did preach, and preached against Idolatry from that Text in *Matt.* of the Ejection of the Buyers and Sellers from the Temple. In this Sermon he shewed the Duty of Magistrates and People to pull down Idolatry, and this he did with such Vehemence, and it had such an Effect upon the People, that not only the common People, but the Provost, Bailies, and Magistrates resolved to remove all the Monuments of Idolatry in that Place, and perform'd it accordingly; the Bishop taking Sanctuary with the Queen, who lay with her Army then at *Faulkland*, as before. The Queen, tho' she had no great Kind-

* *Knox's Hist. of Reform. lib. 2. fol. 153.*

ness for the Bishop, yet heard him upon this Occasion with great Concern and Attention, and resolved immediately to advance with her Army to *St. Andrews*, to punish the Offenders with the utmost Severity, and accordingly ordered her Army to march.

As the Queen was drawing towards them with her Forces, so they, as before, had sent about to all the rest of the *Congregation*, desiring them with all possible Speed to come to their Assistance; which they did with such Speed, that by the next Day they increased from about 300 Men, Horse and Foot, to above 3000 well mounted and accoutred, and among them were some of the most eminent of the Nobility, such as the Earl of *Rothes*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *James Stuart*, Earl of *Glencairn*, and others.

The Queen's Army marched all Night to surprise them, but found they had Intelligence of her March, were drawn up ready to offer her Battle, and resolved to give her a warm Reception: The Earl of *Ruthven* led the Gentlemen of *Fife*, *Angus*, and *Mearns*, who made a Thousand Spears on Horseback: The Towns of *Dundie* and *St. Andrews* made a good Brigade of Foot, and were drawn up by themselves.

When the Queen's Men saw the Order the Lords appeared in, and that they were so posted as that they could not be attackt but with great Hazard, she had recourse to her old Subtily of treating with them, but they were not to be taken twice in one Snare: They refused to treat with her, and prepared to fight.—She sent Messengers again, who pressed them to treat, to prevent the Effusion of Blood; but they still declined it, and stood ready to engage, bidding her fall on with her *French* Cutthroats when she pleased, alledging, there was no Safety in treating with her. However, at length they consented to come to a Treaty on this Preliminary first settled, that an Assurance should be signed by the Duke of *Hamilton*, that all the *French* should be sent away over the *Firth*.

This was done, and is called in *Knox's History** the Assurance, and is signed by the Duke of *Châtelaerault* (*Hamilton*) and *Doell*, a *French* Lord. This Assurance was, That in 8 Days, Messengers should be sent by the Queen to treat of a full Peace; but the Queen, who never regarded her Engagements in such Cases, never sent any Body to treat as she had promised, nor, it seems, did she intend it; but thought that upon this Treaty she should have an Opportunity to convey her *French* Troops safe out of *Fife*, and perhaps bring the Lords, in Confidence of her Treaty, to disperse their Men: The first of these she gain'd, but not the last.

The Lords waited some Time, but finding no Body come, they, as Reason good, concluded the Treaty broken.—And from this Time forward they depended no more upon the Faith of Treaties, but upon their Arms: Many of the principal Nobility came in to them every Day, and instead of dispersing, they grew very strong; and first they march'd to *St. Johnston*, to deliver it from the Oppression of the Garrison which the Queen Regent had placed there: The Town was surrendered after some Difficulty, and the Bishop's House at *Scone* rifled and burnt, his Servants unadvisedly provoking the Multitude, whom the Lords had prevail'd with to let it alone.

From hence, fearing the Queen should intercept their advancing, which she was about to do, by marching her self to *Sterling*, and putting a Gar-

rison into the Castle, they resolved to prevent her, and marching all Night, they took Possession of *Sterling*, and stopping there but Three Days, in which the Churches were stript of their Popish Ornaments, and the Abbey of *Cambuskenneth* demolished, they marched on the Fourth Day for *Edinburgh*.

The Queen might, by this Time, have perceived, if her Eyes had been open, that the whole Nation was bent upon the Reformation, and that there was no resisting it; but God had hardened her Heart, and she would not understand what was visible to all the World; for the People of *Edinburgh* hearing the Lords of the *Congregation* were marching to them, did all the Work to their Hands, and left no Remnant of Popery in any of the Churches, even before the Lords got thither.

It was now the Year 1559, when the Lords marched to *Edinburgh*; in their Passage they took *Lithgo*, and were joined by Duke *Hamilton*, who now came over to them, and wherever they came, the Images, Altars, Pictures, and other Ensigns of Popery went to wreck.

I think 'tis a Piece of Justice to God's Providence, which no one ought to pass over, that in this Beginning of the Reformation, the Awe of the Work was on the Hearts of the Popish Party; for had they made the least regular Opposition, the *Congregation* might at first have been easily suppress'd.

* Bishop *Spotswood* in his History tells us, the Lords had but 300 Men in all their Company when they marched from *Sterling* to *Edinburgh*, and the Queen had near 3000 *French* Soldiers, besides the Popish Party, and their Adherents, who clave to her; and yet at the first News of their Approach, she fled to *Dunbar* with all her Forces, and durst not look them in the Face.

The *Congregation* being now Masters of the capital City, and the Queen and her Foreign Troops fled; they began to act in behalf of their Country's Liberty, as well as in religious Matters; This even by the Accounts which all the Historians of that Time give of it, will clear the first Reformers from the Slander that is so diligently cast upon them of making a tumultuary Reformation, or that it was only a Rabble of the meaner Sort, who were for Plunder, and who, to enrich themselves with the Spoils of the Churches, ran into the Reformation merely to justify their Robberies, and indemnify the Depredations they had made upon the Church; for now they had not only Duke *Hamilton* at their Head, but a very great Number of the Nobility and Gentry were profest Managers of the Reformation, and the common People having, except in their Excesses about demolishing Idolatry, had little Hand in it but as directed by their Superiors.

Another Thing worth noting here is, that having now gotten Possession of *Edinburgh*, October 17. 1559. they appointed the reformed Ministers to preach publicly in *Edinburgh*, which had not been openly done before in any Place, save just where their Army was assembled; but they saw an emi-

* *Spotswood's Hist.* lib. 111. fol. 126.

† *Buchan.* lib. 16. fol. 170.—*Scotorum & Gallorum cohortes Mercenariastantus terror invasit, ut cum omnibus quæ trahere poterant impedimentis Dunbarum perfergerent.*

‡ *Scotorum proceres instaurandæ religionis principes complures in re ordinanda Dei morati, præter ædium sacrarum ab omni missificandi apparatu, repurgationem, verbo Dei sincere enunciando, concionatores constituerunt.*—*Ibid.*

ment Hand was with them, and as the Scripture says of Jacob when he journeyed from Succoth, *the Fear of them fell on all the Cities round about.*

Things standing in this Posture, (after Consultation in Council, says *Caldewood*) tho' he does not note that there was yet any stated Council of the Nation establish'd on their Side,* they sent several Messages to the Queen about the settling Matters now in so much Disorder: The Queen had published a Proclamation, wherein she professed to be willing to refer Matters of Religion to a free Parliament, to meet in January next following, and gave Liberty of Preaching, &c. till then; but reproaches the Lords of the Congregation with rejecting all reasonable Offers, shewing, that it is not Religion they seek, but the Subversion of Authority, and the Usurpation of the Crown. The Lords confront this with Letters to the Queen, and by open Proclamation to the People. In both they call God to witness, that their only Intention is, to banish Idolatry, advance the true Religion, and defend the Preachers thereof, promising to continue in all Duty towards their Sovereign and her Mother the Regent, provided they might have these things secured to them, and offered, in the mean Time, to give Assurance of their Loyalty.

Several Messages and Returns pass'd between them, and a Meeting was appointed of 100 of a Side, to see, if possible, to accommodate Matters: The chief on the Reformers Side were the Earls of *Argyle* and *Glencairn*, Lord *Ruthern*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *James Hamilton*, Lord *Ochiltree*, &c.

These could come to no Conclusion, and parted; and the Queen, on her Part, prepared to attack the Congregation: They kept together in *Edinburgh*, and prepared to defend it: The Duke of *Chatellerauld* and the Earl of *Morton*, laboured to compose Things, and at last a Truce was agreed on, July 24, 1559.

By this Truce the Protestants, on one Hand, were to be free in the Exercise of the reformed Religion, and the Papists were likewise to be unmolested; the religious Houses not insulted, nor their Tithes obstructed; the Congregation was to quit *Edinburgh*, but no Injury was to be done the Citizens, nor any Garrison put upon them: And all Things were to be referred to a Parliament, to meet on the 10th of January next.

Tho' the Queen Regent kept this Truce better than any before, yet it was not long; for a Thousand French Foot arriving to her Assistance, she began her usual Deviations, first with fortifying *Leith* for a Port, by which she might secure her Supplies, and secondly, sending for more Troops from France, by both which she visibly prepared for War.

This occasioned that famous Meeting at *Hamilton*, where the Lords of the Congregation agreed to write a common Letter to the Queen Regent, which was dated September 29, 1559,§ and subscribed by the Duke of *Chatellerauld*, the Earls of *Arran*,

Argyle, *Glencairn*, and *Montath*, and abundance of Lords and Gentlemen.

The Congregation were so alarm'd at the fortifying of *Leith*, and the French Troops the Queen had fixed there; for she had now 2000 Foot more arrived, with Money, Arms, and Ammunition; that they gave Notice, by Letters, into all Parts of the Kingdom; and long Messages, Proclamations,* Charges, and Recriminations past between the Queen Regent and them, in which they insisted upon the dismissing the Foreign Troops, and demolishing *Leith*; but all to no Purpose.

Upon this the Lords arm'd again, and advanc'd to *Edinburgh*: The Queen retreats to her new Fortifications at *Leith*, and with her French Forces and Friends, to the Number of 6000, shutting her self up there, sends Messages to the Duke and the Lords, by the Herald at Arms, charging them with Rebellion, &c.

The Lords convened a great Assembly, little less than a general Convention, wherein the Lord *Ruthern* was President; and having there considered how they had made all the peaceable Applications to the Queen Regent for their Liberties, both Civil and Religious; for the dismissing Strangers, and demolishing the Fortifications raised there, and having not been able to obtain Redress by Reason of the Obstinacy of the Regent, they began to deliberate how, reserving their Loyalty and Obedience to their Sovereign, and her lawful Authority, they might yet depose the exorbitant Power of the Queen Regent, or at least restrain it, as being exercised in Breach of the Laws, and injurious to the Authority and Royal Dignity of their Sovereign.

It was a bold Offer at that Time of Day, and startled the Assembly at first; some were for it, some against it, and they resolved to ask the Opinion of the Ministers about it. I have not Room here to insert the Messages, Declarations, Proclamations, &c. they are to be found at large, as noted below;† for *Buchanan* meddles not with them. But the Ministers Opinion I cannot omit.

The Ministers, who were called, were Two, Mr. *John Willock* and Mr. *John Knox*, whose Opinions are faithfully enough related by Mr. *Spotswood*, and agree with the Account in *Knox's History*, and are as follows.

Mr. Willock first gave his Opinion, 'That, albeit Magistracy be God's Ordinance, and that they who bear Rule, have their Authority from him, yet their Power is not so largely extended but that the same is bounded and limited by God in his Word: And albeit God had appointed Magistrates his Lieutenants on Earth, honouring them with his own Title, calling them Gods; yet did he never so establish any, but for just Causes they might be deprived: For even as Subjects, said he, are commanded to obey their Magistrates; so Magistrates have Directions given them for their Behaviour towards those they rule; and God, in his Word, hath defined the Duty both of one and the other. In deposing Princes, and those that have born Authority, God did not always use his immediate Power, but sometimes he used other Means, such as in his Wisdom he thought good; as by *Aa*, he removed *Maacha*, his own Mother; by *Jeha*, he destroyed *Joram*; and by divers others he deposed

* *Caldewood's Hist.* fol. 12.

† *Spotswood*, lib. 111. fol. 126.

Note. *Buchanan* takes no Notice of this part, and I do not take so much Care to trace *J. Knox*; because 'tis questioned whether that History be genuine or spurious, and *Spotswood* says positively the latter.

‡ *Spotswood*, lib. 3. fol. 126, 127. The Particulars of these Letters, Proclamations, and Declarations are set down.

§ *Spotswood*, lib. 3. fol. 131. The Contents of the Letter.

* *Spotswood*, 132, 133. See there the Queen's Proclamation, the Lords Declaration, the Lords Letter to the Queen at *Leith*, the Queen's Message by *Lyon*, King at Arms, to the Lords, &c.

† *Spotswood*, lib. 3. fol. 136, 137. *Knox's Hist.* lib. 2. fol. 202.

'from the Government those whom he had established before by his own Word. From which, *he inferred*, That since the Queen Regent had denied her chief Duty to the Subjects of the Realm, which was to minister Justice indifferently, to preserve them from the Invasion of Strangers, and to suffer the Word of God to be freely preached; seeing also she was a Maintainer of Superstition, and despised the Counsel of the Nobility, he did think they might justly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority over them.'

Mr. Knox coming to speak after, approv'd all that his Brother had said, adding this more, 'That the Iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to withdraw their Hearts from the Obedience due to their Sovereign; nor did he wish any such Sentence to be pronounced against her, but that when she should change her Course, and submit herself to good Council, there should be Place left to her of Regress to the same Honours from which, for just Causes, she ought now to be deprived.'

*Mr. Spotswood is very angry** with the Ministers for Two Things here, in which, tho' he is a good Historian, he shews himself of a Party against them in behalf of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, a Thing not much talk'd of in those Days.

First, He says, the Ministers should have refused to have meddled in this Matter, or to have given their Opinion.

Secondly, he says, the Examples they brought were not to the Case; and then he subjoins his own Opinion, in which he takes upon him to condemn the Practice of Nations in deposing Tyrants,† and rescuing themselves by Force from Bondage and Slavery, when all other Means have been found to no purpose, *which was exactly the Case here*. But we all know when this good old Man wrote; I mean, in an Age when these Nations lull'd asleep by the wheedling Arts of Tyranny, under the gay-painted Visor of Loyalty and Subjection, became Agents to their own Bondage.—But they have grown wiser since, which, if *Mr. Spotswood* had lived to see, I dare say he had so much good Sense and good Meaning in him, he must have altered his Opinion.

As to his first Objection—which strikes at the Discretion of the Ministers only, and charges their Prudentials, it may be briefly answered, that their Case differed: This was a Case begun in, and carried on for, the Matters of Religion: The Nobility and the Ministers had all along gone on Hand in Hand, aiding, assisting, and advising one another, and it would have been very unkind if the Ministers, in a Case of Conscience too, should have declined their Opinion to those Gentlemen who, at that Time, by their Instigation very much, *at least with their full Concurrence*, had ventured their Lives,

* *Spotswood*, lib. 3. fo. 137. It had been a better and a wiser Part in these Preachers, to have excused themselves from giving any Opinion in these Matters; for they might be sure to have it cast in their Teeth, to the Scandal of their Profession.—

† *Spotswood*, Hist. fol. 137. lib. 3. Neither was the Opinion, they gave, sound in it self, nor had it any Warrant in the Word of God: For howbeit, the Power of the Magistrates be limited, and their Office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great Offences: Yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in Question, or to make Insurrections against them, God having reserved the Punishment of Princes to Himself. [It were to be wish'd the Author had proved this last Affirmation.]

Families, and Estates in the publick Affair of religious Liberty; it had been abandoning their Friends, and which is worse, their Cause too.

Nor was this all, but the Case required it; for if it was *against their Opinions* that Authority might be resisted in Cases of Invasion of Right, *what did they there?* And if it was *their Opinion*, Silence had only signified that it was their Judgment, but that they feared the Chief Priests, John xii. 42. that is, were Cowards, and durst not own their Principles.

Again, it was a general Convention of the Estates of Scotland, that on such an Emergency, demanded their Opinion; and this was to them the *lawful Authority* at that Time, and they ought not to have disobeyed them in any lawful Thing, if they esteem'd them a *lawful Authority*.

His Doctrine about deposing Rulers is on so many Occasions answered, both in Print, as also in the Practice of Nations, that I shall not take up any of these Sheets in it. But this I thought necessary to say in Defence of the Ministers of the first Reformation, I hope none of the Clergy of the Church of England will blame them, seeing they owe now the Settlement and Deliverance of their own Church from Popish Invasions to the same deposing Doctrine at the Revolution.

But to return to the Story: The Assembly, or Estates of the Kingdom, call them which we will, for some Historians call them one, some another, after the Ministers had given their Opinion, unanimously voted the Regent out of her Office, renounced their Obedience to her, and bid her and her Frenchmen depart.

They exhibited to her a long Charge, wherein they did not spare her; but setting out her false and treacherous Dealings with them, they concluded thus: * Wherefore we, in the Name of our King and Queen, suspend and inhibit that publick Administration which you usurp under their Names.

I have been the longer upon this Part of the Story, and shall atone for it in my Brevity in other Cases; because as the Reason of these Memoirs is to set the Matter of the past and present State of the Church of Scotland in a true Light, cleared from those Mists and Darkness which the partial Glosses of some late Patrons of Tyranny have spread over her History; so these being some of the most capital Parts of her Progression to the present happy Settlement which we see her now in, it is essential to my Work to leave this Part as clear and explicit as I can.

And it may be particularly pleasant to the Friends of her Establishment, to observe how wonderfully divine Providence has wrought for her, not barely in rescuing her by Violence out of the Jaws of Superstition, and its Handmaid Tyranny; but the same Providence has given a Sanction to the very Method, by obliging those very People, who upbraid her with the Manner of her Establishment, as being popular and tumultuary, and built on the Foundation of Rebellion, against lawful Authority, to be beholding to the very same

* *Buchan*, lib. 16. fol. 172. Hæc ut, perinde ac debemus tueamur, nos, Regum nostrorum nomine, præfectorum, aut quocumq; alio imperii titulo publicam administrationem sub regibus usurpas, suspendimus ac inhibemus: Ut qui pro certo habeamus, quæ nunc à te geruntur, ea cum eorum perpetua voluntate, erga publicam hujus Regni incolomitatem pugnare: Et quemadmodum tu nos Legitimos hujus Regni, & Regum Cives, pro Senatu, & Concilio publico non habes: Neq; nos te regentem aut magistratu supreme fungentem agnoscimus.

lawful Means for the Establishment they now are built upon.

Nor is there any Case that I meet with so parallel to the late Revolution in *England* as this Revolution in *Scotland*, and yet we are not of the Opinion that the Revolution in *England* was tumultuary at all.

They both began, and both were carried on by the same Methods, and no other, by which Nations oppressed, have, in all Ages, recovered their Liberty, and snatched themselves out of the Jaws of Tyranny and Oppression: Ways honourable, and justifiable by the Laws of God, of Nature, and of Nations.

I shall keep my Word, as to Brevity, in the following Part of the Story.—The Nobility having thus renounced the Regent, they sent to summon the Town of *Leith*; but the *French* had made it too strong to part with it so easily.

They were indeed formidable to the Congregation; for they had the Command of the Sea, and being at least 8000 Men well officer'd and disciplin'd, they transported themselves over into *Fife*, and ravaged the Country from *Sterling Bridge* to *St. Andrews*.

The Congregation had no proportioned Forces for this Work, nor wherewith to supply them: They sent to *England* and borrow'd 4000 Crowns for present Occasion; but the Queen, who had her Spies upon them, got Intelligence of it, and surpriz'd both the Man and the Money.

Their Affairs thus running backward, they came to the last and only Expedient, which was to put themselves under the Protection of the Queen of *England*, and seek Assistance.—And here it is to be noted, that the Presbyterians did not fly to Foreign Help to invade their Sovereign, as some will have it to be; the Establishing the Reformation did not seek Foreign Help; for the Nation having so universally embrac'd the Protestant Religion, there was not one in Ten to stand against them.

But the Case turned just the other Way: The Lords of the Congregation had, as has been related, engaged in the Reformation; the Queen Regent had, by several Treaties, assented to it, Part, at one Time, Part at another; but keeping no Faith with them, and resolving, if possible, to root them out—she flies to Foreign Aid: Mark it; she brings in an Army of Strangers, takes Possession of their Towns, and fortifies 'em, in Order to support her in the tyrannical Measures she had taken.

To root out this Mischief the War began,* and not merely for Religion; had the Nation been clear'd of Foreigners, on either Side, the Work had soon been done; but being invaded by *France*, they flew to *England* for Help, and soon obtained it.

The Queen of *England*, upon a Treaty sign'd in her Name by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and in Name of the Duke of *Chattelleraut* by Commission appointed, sent the Lord *Gray* with 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, and after that a Reinforcement of 2000 Foot more.

By these, after a long Siege, and an obstinate Resistance, the Town was at last surrendered, and the *French* Soldiers, by Capitulation, conveyed home to *France*.

During these Things, the Queen Regent had retired to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where she fell sick, and soon after dyed. Some say, she broke her Heart for Grief that she was thus reduced. Bishop *Spotswood* says, That she sent for the Duke and the confederate Lords, before she died, and exhorted them to end this War, and send home

both *French* and *English*: That she ask'd Pardon of all she had injured, and dyed very *christianly. But he quotes no Authority for it, neither do any other Historians, that I have met with, say any such Thing.

Her Death finished this first War, as I may call it, and hastened the Surrender of *Leith*, which held out but a little while; not but that it might have held longer, and no doubt it would, the Garrison being resolute, well provided, and Relief expected; but the Queen of *England* and the King of *France* having brought Matters to a Treaty abroad, a Treaty at home followed of course; so Ambassadors, from either, met at *Edinburgh*, and a Truce being at first agreed on, the Capitulation and general Peace followed; and the 16th of July 1560, the *English* Army marched for *Barwick*, the *French* set sail for *France*, and a general Peace was made; in which, among other Articles, this glorious Stipulation was one, viz. That the REFORMATION WAS ACKNOWLEDG'D, and considering the Infancy of the Church, and the Difficulties her first Champions had waded through, it was a very great Step to her future Establishment.

The Death of the Queen Mother was followed by another Event, which had no less Influence upon the Affairs of *Scotland*, and this was, That the Queen became a Widow, *Francis II*, the King of *France*, dying the same Year, a few Months after his Mother-in-Law.

This gave a new Turn to the Affairs of *Scotland*, and the Popish Party was, and not without Cause, exceedingly surprized at it; for they had before, the whole Kingdom of *France* concern'd to support them; and their Queen being then married to the King of *France*, they had them jointly concerned in the Affairs; whereas now, another King succeeding to the Crown of *France*, their Queen became but a Dowager, an Allie, and her Interest and Power would be the less to support her Friends in *Scotland*.

The Congregation had now the Government of the whole Kingdom in their Hands, and the Queen was, as we may say, at their Mercy: And this was a special Providence to them, as for settling the Reformation, so to clear up the Reputation of the Reformers, and purge them from the Charge the late Queen Regent had laid upon them, of aiming at the Subversion of the Government, and de-throning their Sovereign, to set up either Lord *James*, or the Duke of *Chattelleraut* in her Place.

But this still tended to their Reputation, and to exonerate them as to the Charge; for when the Regent was dead, the Queen a desolate Widow, and they had all the Power in their Hands, their upright Design could never better appear; for they had no one to hinder their Project, if they had had it in their View; but being sincerely bent for the Reformation of Religion, and the Establishment of their Civil Liberties, and aiming at nothing else, they applied themselves wholly to that Work, and no other, as will appear in the Pursuit of this Story.

In order to this, having dismiss'd the *English* Army, and shipp'd off the *French*, the first Thing that was done was, That in the great Church at *Edinburgh*, the Lords of the Congregation, and all the Gentle-

* *Spotswood*, lib. 3. fol. 146. She sent for *John Willock*, the Preacher, (*Bishop Spotswood* would not call him Minister) and conferring with him a reasonable Space, declared openly that she trusted to be saved only by the Death and Merits of Jesus Christ, and thus ended her Life most christianly.

men, their Adherents, who were there, met to give solemn Thanks to God for their Deliverance from the Tyranny of Foreigners, and establishing the true Religion, and their Civil Liberties.

Then says, Bishop *Spotswood*,* for I must be particular here as to Authors, they distributed Ministers among the Burghs, and appointed Superintendents for the Direction of the Church Affairs.

I note this the rather here, because some Gentlemen, who are angry with the Church of Scotland for the present Establishment, would call this Superintendency an Infant Prelacy; and from thence argue, that the first Reformation was Episcopal, which Difficulty we shall see clear'd up as we go on.

In the mean Time, it will receive its full Answer in these Two Observations.

1. They had no Power: What they were to do, or what Power they had for the planting or displacing Ministers in the Kingdom, had these two Things attending it, which quite enervates the Bishop's Allegation, viz.

(1.) That it was all subservient to the Assembly of Ministers; nay, these *Superintendents* were subjected to the respective Presbyteries: They might be displac'd by them, and supply'd by them; and the Assembly does still, on extraordinary Occasions, depute or commission Ministers, in like manner, for the planting or displacing their Ministers, visiting of Churches, and the like.

(2.) They had neither Superiority of Dignity, or Enlargement of Stipend, or any other Thing which might invade that PARITY which is profess'd by the Presbyterian Church.

2. The Case was extraordinary, and it is what is never practised in the Church but on extraordinary Occasions, of which this is allowed to be one; and there is no Question but on the like extraordinary Occasions, the like Offices would be made use of again, which, in short, were only Delegations, or Substitutions by and from the General Assembly: The Men had neither personal Dignity, nor personal Power; their Commission was temporary, and the Limitation of their Authority was such, as whenever the Bishops of the Church of England please to reduce themselves to, there is no Presbyterian Church in the World but would receive them.

The Debate therefore of this supposed Episcopacy must fall to the Ground, unless the Gentlemen that are for it, are content to subject Episcopacy to Presbytery; for the Assembly of Ministers, either General, Synodical, or Presbyterial had a Power over those Superintendents, and the Remark would be very well worth Note what a Kind of a Bishop it is these Gentlemen plead for.

The Superintendents were, in short, a temporary Expedient for the Necessity of the first planting the Church, and the Ministers, who appointed them, were the most antiepiscopal in Principle that could

be found, as we shall see presently. But I return to the Story.

The Lords having thus settled the Church's Affairs for the present, all Things rested till the Meeting of a Convention, or Parliament, which was appointed to be in August following.

Here another Dispute happened, which the Popish Party have still insisted on, viz. How this could be called a Parliament, since it was not called by the Queen, neither had her Majesty any Body there commissioned to represent her Person.

But the Treaty of Peace solv'd this; which being stipulated in the Name and by the Ambassador of the King and Queen, authorised the Council of Twelve, to call a Convention or Parliament, and this fully legitimated it, tho' there was no Person to represent the Sovereign.

In this Parliament all that had been done before was ratified; and having a sufficient Warrant, as before, for the holding this Parliament, they esteemed what Acts pass'd, Authentick, tho' the Queen afterwards refused to ratify them, as we shall hear presently.

Four Acts pass'd in this Parliament, tho' they had not the Royal Assent till several Years afterward.

1. The Confession of Faith. Note, it pass'd in Parliament August 17, 1560.
2. An Act for abolishing the Jurisdiction and Authority of the Bishops.
3. Repealing, or annulling all former Acts made for the maintaining of Idolatry.
4. For Punishing the Sayers and Hearers of Mass.

A Messenger was sent over to the Queen with these Acts, to desire her Majesty to sign them; but the Queen would not so much as give an Answer to him, but treated him with the utmost Contempt. However, the Acts being past, the Assembly was dissolved, and this was the first Settlement of the Reformation.

It is to be observed here, that the Articles of the Confession of Faith, contain all the doctrinal Part of the Reformer's Profession; but have not one Word of the Discipline or Government of the Church; nor was the Form of Worship settled here: And to this it is needful to say something; because great Pains are taken here to make the first Reformation look as if it had been Episcopal.

That they had a Form of Discipline and Worship before this, is *allowed by all Historians, which was the Order of Geneva; the new one *Spotswood* calls the Form of Church Policy.

It is necessary to digress a little here to the Story of Mr. John Knox. He had been long at Geneva, and was Minister of the English Church there: He had also been at Frankfort, where the English, who fled from Queen Mary's Persecution, had a Church, and Mr. Knox preaching there, a Differ-

* *Spotswood*, lib. 3. fol. 149. Then were the Ministers, by common Advice, distributed among the Burghs; John Knox for Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman for St. Andrews, Adam Herriot at Aberdeen, &c. Besides these they did nominate (but he does not say who) for the Direction of Church Affairs: Some to be Superintendents, viz. Mr. John *Spotswood* for Louthian and Mers, Mr. John *Wingsam* for Fife, John *Areskine* of Dun for Angus and Mearns, Mr. John *Willcock* for Glasgow, and Mr. John *Kerswell* for Argyle and Iles. With this small Number of Bishops (he would have called them) was the Plantation of the Church at first undertaken.

* *Calderwood's History*, fol. 14. Before the Confession of Faith was formed, and the Book of Discipline contrived, the reformed Kirk had that Book which is before the Psalms in Meeter for their Direction in Discipline and external Worship; which Book is called in the Book of Discipline, the Book of common Order, or the Order of the Church at Geneva.

† *Spotswood*, lib. 3. fol. 152. In the Convention kept at Edinburgh in January preceding, a Form of Church Policy was presented, and delivered to be ratified.

The Duke of *Chatellerauld* seeing the Queen both resolute and powerful, made his Peace, and was well received.

The Assembly met as usual, and solicited the Queen still to encrease and settle the Stipends of their Ministers, in which they did at length obtain some Supply; but in the Affair of Religion it self, they received no Satisfaction at all.

The Broils of the Court, and the Murder of *David Rizzio* began the Year 1566. *Spotswood* in his History, fol. 195, makes very good Remarks on this, *viz.* That it had been much better to have brought him to publick Justice, and executed him by the Hand of* the Hangman; for it brought on all the Miseries which followed, one on the Neck of another, almost to the Ruin of the Nation, and effectually to the Ruin of the King, and in the End, of the Queen also.

The Queen resolved to ruin the Lords, who were fled, called a Parliament, to forefault or attaint them: In this Parliament, say *some, she designed to make *Rizzio* Chancellor, and this occasioned *Morton's* falling upon him. Others say, he had plotted the Destruction of the Nobility, and had proposed to the Queen the cutting them off by way of Massacre. Again, he is charged with a scandalous Familiarity with the Queen, which, whether it were true, or that it was suggested to the King to irritate him, and bring him to be concerned in the Fact, is not material farther than this; that by it, the Enmity between the Queen and him, which was before begun, was made so irreconcilable, that as he never rested till he had caused the *Italian* to be murdered, the Queen never rested till she had caused her Husband to be murdered, and divine Justice, after all, never rested till it had caused her to be murdered; so that Blood followed Blood till that whole Knot was destroyed. And thus the Enemies of the Reformation made Way, by their own Destruction, for the more legal and more peaceable compleating of this great Work of the Reformation, to the Glory of God, and the Honour of true Religion, as shall presently appear.

The Murder of this obscure Fellow however had this Influence, that upon this Prospect of the Lords of the Court engaging with the King against *David Rizzio*, the banished Lords took Courage to come home, and the Parliament being sitting, offered themselves to Tryal, and no Body appearing against them, the Lords being all banded into Parties on the other Occasion, they were acquitted; again the Queen terrified with the Strength of her Husband's Party, and the Resolution which they appeared to have taken, fac'd about to the Lords that had fled, received them into Favour, and bent her Fury at the Murderers of her Favourite.

In this Juncture she was brought to Bed of a Son, who was afterwards King *James VI*, who was born in *Edinburgh* Castle on the 19th of June, in a little Room facing the Castle-Hill, which is still remembered as the Birth-Place of that King. 'Tis reported she was so irritated at the King for the Marther of *Rizzio*, that she had determined to de-

stroy the Child, as not bearing to nourish any Thing of his begetting. I do not say this was any more than a Report; but it gives us a Hint of the Spirit that then reigned, and she having, as there is Reason to believe, at the same Time resolved to murder the Father, it might not be improbable she had as barbarous Thoughts towards the Child. But God had other Designs to bring to pass in this Birth, whether for the Good or Ill of the Church of Scotland, the Consequence will make appear.

Another Note is made here upon this Prince, how justly I will not determine, *viz.* That the Fright and Terror his Mother was in, at the drawn Swords which were in the Hands of the Persons employed in this Attempt, (for *Rizzio* was fallen upon in her Presence) so far influenc'd the Child in her Womb, that his Retentives generally fail'd him at the Sight of Weapons ever after.—But this by the Way. 'Tis no Scandal to say of him, he was no Man of War.

The Assembly being then sitting, they sent some of their Number to congratulate the Queen on the Birth of a Son, and humbly to desire the Prince might be baptized into the Protestant Church: The Queen gave no Answer to it at that Time, but very effectually made a Reply to it afterwards, causing him to be baptized after the Popish Manner, at *Sterling* Castle, by the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*.

The Church now began to see which Way Things were going; for the Queen not only honoured the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* with the baptizing the Prince, but gave him also a Commission, whereby he was restored to his ancient Jurisdiction in several Things, which clash'd with their Authority; such as confirming Testaments, Collation to Benefices, &c. both which being directly contrary to the Acts of Parliament, which established the Reformation, and to the true Interest of the Protestant Settlement, the Assembly was exceedingly alarm'd at it; but finding it in vain to address the Queen any more, they formed a Paper in manner of an Appeal; but called it a Supplication, directed, as appears in the Title, to the Nobility and Lords of the secret Council, who had profess'd Jesus Christ, and who had renounced the *Roman* Antichrist: These Proceedings on both Sides, ripened Things for the sudden Change which soon after followed.

The Murder of the King was the next Tragedy that came on the Stage of this unhappy Court: The Queen, after her being delivered of a Son, and, if she had the wicked Design of murdering it, being prevented the Execution of that Murder, retired to *Allovey*, a House of the Earl of *Mar*, near *Sterling*; the King followed her, but was refused Admittance, (she resolving to have no more of his Race, as she openly declared) and was treated with great Contempt.—Upon this the King, (say some, with Grief,* others say, by Poyson) fell sick, and was carried to *Glasgow*. The Queen, after some Time, whether she relented at her Usage of him, or whether in the Plot for his Ruine, or whether *Bothwell* formed his Destruction upon an Apprehension of the Queen's being reconciled to him at that Time, is uncertain to this Hour; but she went to visit him, and after some Words they were openly reconciled again, and the King was, at the Queen's Appointment, carried to *Edinburgh*, where he had not been many Days but he was most barbar-

land, but leave them to the Discretion of their Princes; seeing neither she nor her Husband did offer to trouble themselves with her Subjects.

* *Buchanan* says, they designed to hang him publicly, but that *Morton*, and his Men, had not Patience enough with him.

† *Spotswood*, lib. 4. fol. 195. The Queen designing he should act as Chancellor in this Parliament, *Morton* who, after *Huntley's* Death, had supplied that Place, took it as an Affront to him.

* *Buchanan*, Hist. Eng. says, he fell sick: The Queen having given him Poyson, which, working before its Time, broke out all over his Body, and so Nature expelled the Poison.

ously murdered in his Bed, and the House blown up with Gunpowder, as by the Histories of those Times more largely is to be seen.

It is not to the Case to enquire here into the Manner and Circumstances of this Barbarity, and who did it, of all which, Authors also* differ. All agree that it was vilely contrived between the Queen and *Bothwell*, and more vilely executed by *Bothwell*, either in Person or by his Agents.

But I am, by the Course of Things, hastening to the great Revolution which now happened, and which all these horrid Things were but as so many preparatory Steps to bring to pass.

First, the abominable Marriage between *Bothwell* and the Queen, which was brought to pass soon after, which made the Matter so black that nothing could be worse, next to owning the Fact, viz. That a Woman should link her self in Marriage to the Murderer of her Husband.

Secondly, Her Behaviour at the Parliament which then approach'd, where she positively refused all that was desired of her in behalf of the Reformation, and behaved with a quite different Air from all she had done formerly.

Thirdly, Manifest Designs and secret Attempts of the Queen to get the Custody of her Son out of the Hands of the Lord *Mar*, who claim'd it by Birth as hereditary Keeper of the King's Children.

The first Step to what followed was by the Earl of *Arbuthnot*, who, fully satisfied of the Guilt of *Bothwell* in the Murder of the King, and meditating how he might with most Ease bring him to Justice, begins to start among the Nobility his just Suspicions, that the same Villainy might be practised upon the Infant as had been upon the Father.

Upon this the Protestant Lords appoint a Meeting at *Sterling*, in order to protect and secure the Person of the Prince: And in this Meeting the Destruction of Popery, Treason, and Murder took its Rise: They all met with their Fate together, and this abominable Generation, with their short liv'd Joy, vanished in Stink and Smoak, being grown noysome to the whole World by the most horrid Actions that were ever read of.

The Queen, hearing of this Meeting, and that the Lords had entered into Bond, one to another, for mutual Assistance, pretends a Journey, to visit the Borders, and thereby, according to Custom, summons the Subjects to attend her with Arms and Provisions for 15 Days: Upon this, a Rumour being spread that the Queen designed to seize on the young Prince, and take him from the Earl of *Mar*, the Lords aforesaid take Arms, the Queen publishes a Declaration that she does not design to remove the Prince; but this not satisfying the Lords, they surround her in *Brothwick Castle*, but not being able entirely to invest the Place, *Bothwell* and the Queen make their Escape to *Dunbar*, and then, tho' too late, she raises Forces.

The Lords advanc'd to *Edinburgh*, and the Queen to *Muscelburgh*, but when the Armies faced one another, the Queen's Men did not care to fight, *Bothwell's* Guilt was too great, his Heart fail'd him, and he ran away: The Queen, who had both more Courage and more Presence of Mind, staid, but was obliged to put her self into the Hands of the Lords,

* *Spotwood*, lib. 4. fol. 200.—says—*Bothwell* came upon him, in the Night, as he lay asleep, and strangled him.—

Buchanan says, it was the Conspirators, but seems not to be positive, that *Bothwell* did it with his own Hands, tho' he owns him in the Conspiracy.

who carried her to *Edinburgh*, and from thence, shewing her indeed but very little Respect, sent her Prisoner to the Castle of *Lock-Leven*. Thus ended the Reign of Popery in *Scotland*, I mean barefac'd profess'd, down right Popery; as for Popery in Masquerade, eventual Popery, disguised Popery, 'tis but a very few Years since that went off the Stage also; and we shall, in the Course of these Memoirs, see many a Farce of its acting, and some bloody Tragedies also, till at length it vanish'd with as much Contempt as the other.

Buchanan tells us* that when the Queen had surrendered her self to the Lords, the second *Battalia*, or Line of the Men, when she came among them, used her very barbarously, and cried out for putting her to Death, painting a Standard with the murdered King and his little Son lying by him, and displaying it before her.

It was, without doubt, a very great Revolution, and in it the Justice of Heaven visibly pursued the Murder of the King, the Barbarity of which hath hardly had its Parallel in any Age: And as this is one of the Reasons why I enter into that Part of the Story, so tho' I cannot go through all the Particulars, yet I cannot but remind the Reader of one nice Reflection, viz. That tho' Queen *Elizabeth* is blam'd, and perhaps justly, for putting her to Death afterwards; yet it is plain it was the Work of a superior Power, and that Vengeance, which followed them all, suffered her not to live.

Bothwell, who had been the chief Contriver and Actor of the whole Tragedy, never saw her more; he fled to *Shetland*, an Island in the *North*, where, for a while, he turned Pirate; but being beaten from thence, he fled to *Denmark*, where he was taken up, by the King's Order, and kept in a loathsome Prison, and being reduced to extremum Poverty, lived about Ten Years in a Jail, and at last died raving mad.

The Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who, as *Buchanan* relates, had been one of those that voluntarily undertook the Murder, was hang'd by the Regent, the Earl of *Murray*; being taken in the Surprise of *Dumbarton Castle*.

John Hamilton, who was one of the Actors, dyed of Grief, after he confest the Murder to a Priest the School-Master at *Paisley*.

Even *Morton* himself, who had the least Concern in it, and at most was no otherwise guilty than that he knew of it, and concealed it after it was done, was beheaded for that Concealment many Years after at the Cross of *Edinburgh*.

The Queen's Guilt was particularly demonstrated by her own Letters, taken in *Bothwell's* Silver Cabinet; where, under her Hand, she transacted the whole Affair with him; and among which was a Contract of Marriage, signed by her own Hand, to him, in her Husband's Life, to be consummated after he should be dispatched.†

* *Buch. lib. 18. fol. 195.* Cum ad secundam aciem pervenisset, concors ab omnibus clamor sublatus est, ut meretricem, ut paricidam eremarent. Erat in militari quodam vexillo depictus Henricus Rex mortuus, & juxta filius Infans vindictam paricidii a Deo exposcens: Id signum duo milites inter duas hastas distentum, quoque se verteret, ob oculos ei objiciebant—

† *Buch. lib. 19. fol. 201.* Ibi, cum & rerum, uti gestæ fuerant, explicatus fuisset ordo, & prolata eorum, qui, sceleris in regem commissi, erant conscii, Testimonia, ante mortem expressa, ordinum item decreta, quibus multi, ex proregis accusatoribus, subscripserant; arcula demum argentea in

These Things made her Guilt so plain, that her Name became odious to all the World : And the Regent afterward made them all so plain to every Body's Understanding, when he was at London, and when the Queen of England enquired of the Reasons why they deposed their Sovereign, that, the same Author says, Queen Elizabeth declared, she was not worthy to be assisted.

And yet after all this Aversion manifested to her Person, and Detestation of her Crime, she formed such Parties among the People, who, after the first Heat, began to relent and commiserate her, that she found Means to escape out of Lochleven Castle, and raise new Commotions.

In the mean Time the Nobility considered of settling the Government, and of entirely deposing the Queen : The first Step to this was, by procuring her to demit or resign the Crown : She at first resolutely opposed it, but afterwards sign'd* any Thing they brought her, as 'tis said, without so much as reading it, upon this Foundation, that being under Confinement, nothing she did now could be binding upon her for the future.

Thus she signed several Instruments, one for the Surrender of the Crown, renouncing and demitting the Government in Favour of her Son, commissioning the Lords for his solemn Investiture : One other was a Power to some Noblemen to make the solemn Resignation, in her Name, in the publick Meeting of the States : One other was for nominating the Earl of Murray, who was then in France, Regent of the Kingdom in the Minority of her Son : And the other for naming Governours to her Son. But afterwards when she made her Escape out of Lochleven, she revok'd all those Writings as done by her under the Restraint of a Prison, and under Terror of her Life, which they say the Lord Lindsay threatened when he came to her with the Instruments. However, the Lords took her at her first Word, and in the mean Time proceeded upon the Authority of these Demissions, and having put all other Things in order, they proclaimed her Son King of Scotland, and crowned him July 29, anno 1567, and made James, Earl of Murray, Regent, tho' then absent in France. This is the same I have always called Lord James, being the Queen's half Brother, who was after called the good Regent, and who was, under God, the blessed Instrument of the establishing the Reformation in Scotland.

The Queen, as I noted, having made her Escape, raises an Army about Hamilton, the Regent, tho'

inferiour in Number, marches to Glasgow, and at Langside, a Village not far from Glasgow, gives her Battle, and her Forces being overthrown, she fled into England.

There she past a long Imprisonment, by Order of Queen Elizabeth, during which for carrying on innumerable Plots and Contrivances against the said Queen and her Subjects, she was at last brought to the Block, on Pretence of conspiring against the English.—Whether their Pretence against her was just or no, I do not determine ; but that Justice pursued her, as is said before, for the most abominable Fact above, I mean the Murder of her Husband, I think is plain from all Histories of those Times.

The Realm was now under the Conduct of the Regent, the King an Infant, and they had brought the Queen to make a Kind of Assent to the crowning her Son, and to appoint him Governours. The Regent managed with a Prudence not to be described ; in Diligence unwearied, in Action undaunted, in Government sagacious, in Religion zealous, and exceeding pious, in Life sedate, and in his violent Death patient and resigned.—He was barbarously murdered by James Hamilton, set to work by the Queen's Party : He shot him through the Body in the Street at Luthgo, as he was riding out of the Pallace amidst a great Throng of the People crouding to see him : The Murtherer made his Escape out of a Back-Door, and could not be apprehended.

Upon this Disaster, great Contention followed among the several Parties : The Nobility came several Times together in order to chuse a new Regent, and parted without bringing it to a Conclusion, and the Queen's Party grew very strong, particularly the City of Edinburgh sided with her. At last Matthew, Earl of Lenax, Father to the late murdered King, was chosen Regent.

He carried on the War against the Queen's Party, and taking Possession of Leith, had several Skirmishes with her Troops, as at Leith, Dalkeith, and other Places ; but at last he is surprized at Sterling, with a great many of the Nobility and Gentry, by a Party of the Queen's Men, who take the Town by Surprise, and took the Regent, the Earl of Morton, and sundry other Prisoners ; but the Queen's Men being beat out of the Town again, and forc'd to quit their Prisoners, the Regent was shot through by him that had him Prisoner, because he could not carry him off ; for which Fact he was afterwards hang'd, as he well deserved.

The Lord Ereskine, E. of Mar, was then chosen Regent ; but the Queen's Interest was so strong at that Time, and the King's so weak, that there was great Danger of a new Turn in Affairs, and Popery began to hold up its Head ; but they had the Pleasure of being disappointed in that Particular also, by the Turn of Affairs in England with the Queen ; who, on a Discovery of her Plot there with the Duke of Norfolk, was closer confined, and afterwards tryed for her Life, and beheaded : With her fell all the Hopes of Popery in Scotland. But the Church found other Enemies to struggle with, in some Respects, as fatal to her Prosperity as the Papists, of which we shall find Cause to speak more particularly in the Second Part of this Work.

But to return to the Affairs in Hand. As this Revolution was against the Interest of the Queen and her Party, so it was a farther, and, I think, I may call it a compleat Establishment of the Church ; for whatever Factions and Parties were form'd in the State, the Nobility frequently changing Parties as their Interests and Fortunes guided them, yet they

medium est allata, quam à Francisco, priore Marito, acceptam regina Bothuelio dederat, in ea inerant literæ Reginæ manu Gallico sermone conscriptæ ad Bothuelium, in quibus omnibus, amoris ejus erga Bothuelium impotentia, consilium, ratio cædis regis, & post cædem, raptus : Item cum eodem matrimonii contractus tres : Primus ante paricidium, ipsius Reginæ manu scriptus, quo, velut Syngrapha spondet ei, ubi primum sui juris foret, se nupturam — Hæc omnium oculis exposita & in concilio perfecta, totum facinus ita subjecerunt oculis, ut nulla dubitatio de auctore amplius esse posset —

* Spotswood, lib. 4. fol. 211. She was perswaded to it by Robert Melville, who was sent from the Earls of Athol and Leithington, to advise her as she loved her Life not to refuse them any thing they should require. He likewise brought a Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the Ambassador from England, to the same Effect, declaring, That no Resignation, made in the Time of her Captivity, would be of any Force, and in Law was null, because done out of a just Fear.

all joined in the Matter of the Reformation, and the confederated Lords were entirely in the Interest of Religion : But to look into this we must go back again to the first seizing the Queen.

The Earl of Murray being declared Regent, as above, was, while he lived, a very great Futherance to the Establishment of the Church : That great Man being not only a vigorous and constant Friend to the Reformation, but a most pious, religious and sincere Professor of it himself.

Things being in so good a Posture for the Church, when the Queen was taken Prisoner, the first Parliament was holden at *Edinburgh* December 18, 1567, in the Name of the King, tho' but an Infant ; and the first Thing they went about was, to recognize the whole Proceedings of the Reformation in the following Acts.

1st, An Act abolishing the Jurisdiction and usurp'd Authority of the Pope, which was still no more than confirming the Act made before for that Purpose ; but it was done because the Papists raised some Objections against the Validity of that Parliament, the Queen having not given her Assent to their Meeting, nor confirmed the Articles at *Leith*.

2d, Another Act past, for repealing former Laws for establishing Popery.

3d, The Confession of Faith was ratified.

4th, An Act appointing, That all Kings and Magistrates should, at the Time of entering upon their Offices, swear to maintain the Church, expressed in these Words: *To maintain the true Religion as now received.*

The Polity and Jurisdiction of the Church was, says *Spotswood*, referred to Delegates, and the Thirds of Benefices were, for the present, granted to the Church ; the Necessity of the Times made it impossible to obtain the rest : For the publick Affairs requiring the Assistance of all its Interest, the remaining Revenues of the Church were retained to the Service of the Nation.

In this Parliament the King's Authority being acknowledged, the Queen, his Mother, was concluded to *perpetual Imprisonment*, which was then thought very severe, and brought a great many to espouse her Quarrel, in meer Compassion to her Circumstances ; and this, facilitating her Escape, as before, filled the Nation with a long Series of Blood, Tumult, and Disorder.

Yet under all these Turmoils the Church was supported in her Jurisdiction, as well as Doctrine ; and therefore here I fix the Period of what I call her Infant-State : And I think my Opinion is back'd very much by that famous Letter of the General Assembly of the Kirk, *Anno* 1567, being the same Year I am now upon.

The Letter was to Mr. Willock, one of their Ministers, and one who was particularly famous for his Share in the Reformation ; but was fled into *England* from the Troubles of the first Years of the Queen's Return : This Man the Assembly writes to, to invite him to come back again : And their Reasons to move him to return were, ' That they had a religious and zealous Magistrate constituted, meaning the Earl of Murray, commonly called the *Gude Regent*; sufficient Provision appointed for Ministers, the Church established, ' and Religion flourishing throughout the Realm '—and they conclude their Letter, *Now you shall see the Cope-stone of that Work whereof you laid the Foundation.*

It is true, that the Book of Polity or Discipline was not to this Day established by Parliament, and therefore the Church had not all the Authority that they wish'd in the Matters of Jurisdiction, Government, and Discipline. But the Gentlemen that would dispute here the Priority of Episcopal Government in the Church to Presbyterial, will get nothing by that ; for all this while the Church exercised a compleat Presbyterial Jurisdiction, and no other ; had their exact regular Meetings of Kirk or parochial Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies.

The Nobility, upon all Occasions, signed the Book of Discipline, and the Book of Polity was frequently revised, and in this Parliament was ordered to be revised again.

The Bishops that remained, had nothing left them but a ministerial Authority, and were equally subjected to Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly ; and the Superintendency, of which so much is alledged to prove it an Equivalent to Episcopacy, was under all the essential Articles of a Parity ; a famous Instance of which was the Bishop of *Orkney*, who was, as a private Minister, censured in the first Assembly of the King, for solemnizing the adulterous Marriage of the Queen with *Bothwell*, and was deprived by them by virtue of an Act of Assembly against marrying a divorced Adulterer ; for such, it appeared, *Bothwell* was,* having been divorced from his Wife to come into that horrid Marriage.

Again, the next General Assembly, *An.* 1568, the said Bishop was restored, upon his Humiliation, and satisfying the Assembly.

† At the same Assembly the Superintendent of *Fife* was censured for his Negligence in Visitation, and that he was careless in punishing Adulterers.

These are such plain Acts of Presbyterial Jurisdiction over the Superintendents, that nothing can be needful to add to it. In the same Assembly was the Form of Excommunication approved, and ordered to be printed, and is affixed just before the Psalms in Meeter.

One other Thing is very essential to this Debate, which will be also found at large in *Calderswood's* History, fol. 45.

The Principal, and some of the Regents of the College at *Aberdeen*, were deprived by order of the Assembly, for refusing to acknowledge the several Laws of establishing the Church, and other Things objected ; but they were deprived not by the Superintendent, but by the Superintendent, together with the Ministers and Commissioners, and the Superintendent acted only as Commissioner from the Assembly, as is to this Day to be seen in the Register.

As to Discipline the Practice of it was, tho' not established, yet every Day regulated and directed by the Assembly. And if there were any difficult Things in Matters of Order and Discipline, it was only owing to this, that the Polity of the Church was not perfected and settled.

* *Calderswood*, Hist. fol. 44. He was deprived till the Assembly was satisfied for the Scandal.

† *Ibid.* He is restored to his Ministry, but they ordained that he publicly made a Confession of his Faith in the Kirk of *Haly-Rood-House*, on the Lord's-Day, at the End of Sermon.

‡ *Ibid.* And the Superintendents of *Angus* and *Louthian* were to report their Diligence to the next Assembly.

PART II.

OF THE CHURCH IN HER GROWING STATE.

I HAVE fix'd the Period of the Church's Infancy at the dethroning Queen *Mary*, when the glorious Top-Stone of the Reformation seem'd to be laid in *Scotland*, and the Church arriv'd to a Condition to stand upon her own Feet.

Her doctrinal Articles were assented to, and her Worship establish'd, and both confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliament, under the Administration of the first Regents, the Earl of *Murray*, and the Earl of *Lennox*: Likewise her Judicatories took Place, her Churches were planted, and her Discipline was agreed to, so that as, in the Letter of the Assembly to Mr. *Willock*, is noted, *The Church was fully Planted*: As to her intestine Troubles, they seem'd indeed to be but begun; for the Polity of the *Kirk*, it was not yet establish'd, nor could they ever bring the Book of Discipline to be past into an Act in the Convention or Parliament of that Day. At this Door crept in all the Mischiefs that for above 120 Years after, continually harass'd this Church, and brought her several Times under the Yoke, both of temporal and ecclesiastick Tyranny; several Times into cruel and bloody Persecutions, and more than once to the very Gates of Destruction, as shall be seen in its Order.

The Church had been now 14 Years in her first Struggles with Popery, had enjoyed her General Assemblies 12 Years, and tho' the Government of the Church was not past into a Law by the Civil Sanction of a Parliament, as is observed above, yet the greatest Part of the Nobility and Gentry had signed it; and all that Part which was needful to the true Discipline of the Church was fully practised by the Ministers in their particular Churches, and frequently regulated in their General Assemblies.

But as in all the Ages of the Church, the Prosperity of their Affairs has led them into mutual Jarrings, Divisions, and Jealousies, which consequently ushered in Multitudes of Innovations; so it was here: The Ambition and Emulation of the Clergy and Nobility ushered in a Model of Episcopal Government, which, as it was at first a *Molloy-Scheme* of Church-Government, composed neither of Presbytery nor Prelacy, so it laid the Foundation of its own Corruptions, and in them of all the Confusions which followed in the Church, as will appear hereafter.

The first Step to this, was in the Year 1572, when, upon the old Foot of settling and perfecting the Polity of the Church, that fatal Commission was granted to settle the *Kirk*, of which in its Place. The Regent was now the Earl of *Mar*, who, tho' a Protestant, was, it seems, particularly inclined to the new Scheme of Church-Government which had been proposed in an Assembly or Convention of the Church at *Leith*, viz. to restore the Government of Bishops as it was in the Time before the Reformation: And as there was a strong Party even among the Ministers who fell in with the Court, and no doubt the Hopes of Church-Preferment had moved some, they soon were prevail'd with to join with the Party that pretended to settle the Church according to that Scheme.

In order to this, a Commission was granted to a

certain Number of Gentlemen to treat with a like Number of Ministers, to be commissioned by the General Assembly, and to consider of, settle, and conclude anent all Things tending to the Establishing the Polity of the *Kirk*.

And this was that famous, or rather fatal Commission which first brought Episcopacy into the Church of *Scotland*, and their Act was expressed in these Words:

* "They think good, in Consideration of the present Estate, that the Names and Titles of Archbishops and Bishops be not innovated, nor the Bounds of the Diocesses confounded—but stand and continue in Time coming as they did before the Reformation, at least till the King's Majority, or till Consent of Parliament."

Episcopacy being thus brought in, as we call it, by Head and Shoulders into the Church, did not, however, answer their End who brought it in; for at first it came in so fetter'd and shackled with Limitation of Power and Castration of Stipends, that there was little in it more than was before in the Ministers, who were called *Superintendents*; the Name and Dignities excepted. And here it is worth observing, that the true Reason appeared both why the Church could never obtain a Parliamentary Establishment of their Book of Discipline, as also why the Nobility and Gentry fell in so suddenly with this new Model; the Case is very plain: Under this Model the Gentlemen retained to themselves the Revenues of the Church, either in Temporalities *feu'd* to themselves, as they call it in *Scotland*, or Pensions and Payments which they obtain'd from the Church-Men; which they could never before obtain under the Ministers; for the Ministers would not so far betray the Church as to alienate her Revenues to the Courtiers and Gentry. But now it was done effectually, and the Gentlemen hold many of these Things to this Day, to the great Impoverishment, as well as Discouragement of the Church, and Hindrance of the Planting Ministers in many Parts of the Country.

However, the Clergy found Ways to help themselves as to the Revenue in after Times. This was the first Condition they came into the Church in, and this simoniacal Project, for it was no less, (*viz.*) giving Part of the Church's Revenues to the Nobility, that they might have their Vote to possess the rest; this simoniacal Project, I say, was the first Reason of the Introduction of Bishops into the Church of *Scotland*.

We shall now see how this Matter relish'd with the Reformers, and whether, as some alledge, it was a general Act of the Reformation, *YEA*, or *NO*. In February 1572, a new Bishop was inaugurated at *St. Andrews*: Mr. *Knos* protested against it,

* *Calderswood*, Hist. fol. 60.

† *Calderswood*, Hist. fol. 61. Hence they were called *Tulchane Bishops*: A Tulchane is a Calfskin stuffed with Straw, plac'd to make the Cow give Milk; for now the Bishop had the Title, which was but the Straw, but the Lord got the Milk of the Benefice.

and pronounced his Anathema, or great Curse against both Giver and Receiver.

But the Case was much altered in *Scotland* at this Time among the Gentry and Nobility. (1.) Abundance of the first Reformers, debauched by the Luxury of the Court, and touch'd upon the Niceties of Allegiance, adhered to the Queen, who was Popish, tho' they themselves were Protestants; such was the Duke of *Chatelleraut*, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Rothess*, Laird of *Grange*, and others. (2.) Of the rest, the Interest of the Nobility in the Church's Revenues, made them all slack in the Matter of the Church *Polity*, shy of the extraordinary Authority of the Assembly, and averse to the Severity of Discipline.

The two first Regents the Earls of *Murray* and *Lennox*, adher'd honestly and faithfully to the Church, and were the constant Patrons of her Settlement: The Earl of *Mor*, the third Regent, was both zealous for the Reformation, and religious in his Person; but gave way a little too early to the above-mentioned Court-Principle, I mean as to their retaining the Church's Revenues. But the Earl of *Morton*, who succeeded him, openly invaded the Authority of the Assembly, and throwing off the Mask, protected the Bishops in usurping an Authority independent of the Assembly; and by the same Consequence, placing an Authority in the Prince to appoint the Bishop. And thus he did the Drudgery of the Party, for which they ill rewarded him afterward, as will appear in the Course of this Story.

The first Introduction of Bishops, as above, left them fetter'd and shackled, as I noted, under the Power of the Assembly; and tho' even the Name gave Offence, yet they were so reduc'd, as that the Name began not to be questioned, and such the Church will not dispute to this Day: For tho' they were allow'd to be called Bishops, yet they were really only Superintendents, and not that neither very long; for the Assembly, *Anno* 1574, voted the Bishops to be only Pastors of one Parish, and delated several of them afterward for not Preaching, and for not attending at their *Charge: †The Bishop of *Dunkeld* was actually deposed by the Assembly. The Bishop of *Glasgow* was delated for not preaching—The Superintendent of *Louthian* was censur'd for inaugurating the Bishop of *Ross*, when he was admonished by the Assembly not to do it.

Innumerable Instances are to be found in the History of those Times, as well of Superintendents as of Bishops, who were tried and censured by the Assembly. On the other Hand, Bishop *Spotswood* affirms positively, that the Superintendent's Power was Episcopal; but gives not one Instance to prove it.

At last the grand Affair came before the Assembly, and was then decisively asserted; for the Assembly, beginning to see themselves encroached

upon, came immediately to the Root of the Question, *Whether the Function of a Bishop be warranted by the Word of God*. The Name of Bishop no Body disputed, but the Extent of the Title and Office was the Thing.

In the 6th Session of the Assembly 1575, the Brethren did not conclude finally, but came to this Resolution, that they asserted their own Superiority,* and their Power to turn the Bishop out, after which they stated the Thing in general thus:

1. "That the Name of Bishop is common to every one that hath a particular Flock, over which he hath a peculiar Charge; as well to preach the Word, and to minister Sacraments, as to execute ecclesiastical Discipline, with Consent of his Elders.—And this is his chief Function by the Word of God.

"Out of the Number of Bishops some may be chosen to have Power to oversee and visit such reasonable Bounds, besides his own Flock, as the General Assembly shall appoint; and in these Bounds to appoint Ministers, with the Consent of the Ministers of that Province, and with the Consent of the Flock, [MARK THAT] to whom they shall be appointed: As also to appoint Elders and Deacons in every particular Congregation, where there is none, with Consent of the People thereof, [MARK THAT ALSO] and to Suspend Ministers for reasonable Causes, with Consent of the Ministers aforesaid."

This is, in short the Church of *Scotland*'s first Opinion of the Office of a Bishop: They did not declare directly against the very Word *Bishop*; for the Court run high for the new Project, and they were not forward to fly in the Face of the Regent, yet they were resolute in the Substance of the Thing.

It is very remarkable, that when these Resolutions were past in the Assembly, there were present, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Galloway*, *Brichen*, *Dumblain*, and *Iles*; and all these, by their Silence, acknowledg'd they understood themselves to be Bishops in such a Sense; and *Spotswood* complains upon them for it.†

* *Calderswood*, fol. 69. If any Bishop be chosen who hath not such Qualities as the Word of God requireth, let him be tried by the General Assembly, DE NOVO, and let him be deposed if there be Cause.

† *Calderswood*, fol. 69. They answered not directly to the Question at this Time, by Reason of the Regent's Authority, who was bent upon the Course whereof he was the chief Instrument, yet they agreed upon such Points as overthrow the Authority and Power of a Bishop.

‡ *Spotswood*, lib. 1. fol. 276. It doth not appear by the Register of these Proceedings, that the Bishops who were present, did so much as open their Mouths in defence of their Office and Calling: What it was that made them so quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected these Motions should have been dash'd by the Regent, or otherwise, that they affected the Praise of Humility, is unknown; which was no Wisdom in them to have given way to such Novelties, and have suffered the Lawfulness of their Vocation to be thus called in Question.

The Persons present he Names.

* *Spotswood*, lib. 5, fol. 226. The Question was proposed to the Assembly, whether Bishops, as they were then in *Scotland*, had their Function warranted by the Word of God. The Assembly, without giving a direct Answer, approved the Opinion of the last Assembly, with this Addition, "That Bishops should betake themselves to the Service of some one Church within their Diocese, and name the particular Flock of which they would accept the Charge."

† *Ibid* The Bishop of *Dunkeld* was deposed by the Assembly for Dilapidations.

Thus the Church asserted her Authority, and the Project of the Court was very much disappointed.

Hitherto Intreague, Subtilty, and Management had been the Method in all the Steps which had been taken to have introduc'd this Novelty into the Church; but these were all defeated by this Proceeding; for the Assembly took away the Power, and left them the Name, which, 'tis plain, did not answer the End.

There remained no other Way then, but open Violence; and here we find the Regent making the first Invasion upon the Kirk, and leading the Way to all the Assaults which have been made upon her ever since.

The Bishop of St. *Andrews* dying, the Regent recommends, or rather appointed the Chapter to choose one Mr. *Adamson*, his Chaplain, to succeed the Bishop.

The Chapter deferred the Election till the General Assembly, and acquainted them with it: Mr. *Adamson*, who was present in the Assembly, was hereupon ask'd if he would submit to Trials—and accept the Office with those Injunctions which the Church would prescribe—He answered, the Regent had forbid him to accept of the Office otherwise than as appointed by Church and State.

I give this *verbatim* out of Bishop *Spotswood*; because his Authority is least questioned by the Advocates of this Cause.*

Upon this Answer, which shew'd a direct Invasion of their Authority, the Assembly could do no less than assert their Right, and therefore †rejected him—but the Regent‡ commanded the Chapter to elect him, and they did so, in Defiance of the General Assembly.

The Assembly, justly provok'd at this, gave a Commission to the Superintendent of §*Louthian*, and two other Ministers—to call him before them, and prohibit him to exercise any Jurisdiction, till he should be authorized thereto by the General Assembly.

Here we see a Bishop suspended, the Royal Mandate disputed, and a Superintendent who, *Spotswood*, in another Place, says, had Episcopal Power, yet receiving a Commission from the Assembly, together with other Ministers, to suspend only; which, had he been a Bishop, he might have exercis'd without a Commission, if it had been in his own Bounds, and could not if he had been a Bishop, out of his Diocese, by any Commission.

Upon this Attack of the Church, the Assembly resolving to act with as much Temper and Moderation as possible, consisting with their Right and the just Authority they possess: And in order to prevent any more Disputes of this Kind, resolved, if possible, to fix upon a Form of Church-Polity,

Archbp. of *Glasgow*, Superintendent of *Louthian*
& *Angus*,
Bishop of *Dunkeld*,
Galloway,
Brichen,
Dumblain,
Iles.

* *Spotswood*, lib. 5. fol. 277. Imparted to them the Warrant they had received: The Bishop owns it was a Command to the Chapter to chuse him.

† *Ibid.* Inhibited the Chapter to proceed.

‡ *Ibid.* Upon a new Charge given them, they convened and made Choice of him.

§ *Calderswood* says, it was the Superintendent of *Fife*, which is most likely, St. *Andrews* being in that Province.

and accordingly it was drawn up and *offered, in their Names, to the Regent; but the Troubles which quickly followed upon this in the State, put a Stop to the settling it at this Time also, as it had done several Times before.† Mr. *Calderswood* gives a long Account of the Conference of the Ministers in the *West*, with those appointed by the Assembly, in order to fix this ecclesiastical Polity, to which I refer; the Thing not being obtained, 'tis not to my Purpose to enter into Particulars other than this, that the Presbyterian Authority was clearly establish'd in it, and the very Name as well as Office and Power of a Bishop left out.

The Regent, who opposed them in all Things, did so, underhand, in this; for it was evident he push'd not at the introducing the Bishops only, but even at the Dissolution of the Assembly, whose Authority was too great for him, and made him uneasy.—However, the Form was presented, as above, and he did not openly reject it; but started Objections, and appointed Questions to be answered, and nam'd a Committee of the Council to confer with them about it.

But now a new Revolution of Affairs happened; for Factions rising, among the Nobility, against the Regent, and, as it was thought, he being sensible of his being too weak for them, was advis'd to stoop to the Juncture of Affairs, quietly to concede his Authority, and demit that Power which, it was manifest, he could not keep.

The King was now almost Twelve Years old, and tho' he was under Governours, yet the Faction of Lords not agreeing who to repose the Trust in, it was resolv'd to declare the King MAJOR, and put the Government into his own Hands. This also seem'd the more honourable for the Regent; for to have named another after him, had been plainly to have told the World he was turned out—but to resign his Government into the King's own Hand, had a much greater Appearance of Honour.

He did so: But as great Mens Fall seldom stop with the Loss of their Preferments, so it was with him; he past through various Troubles, till at last the Persecution of his Enemies brought him to the Block.

The King was young, but began to be informed of Things, and as well from *Morton* at first, as the rest of the Courtiers about him afterwards, he received too early Prejudices against the Constitution of the Church, and in particular he took all Occasions to intrench upon the Power of the Assembly.

The Debate was now wholly about Bishops, the Assembly was for reducing their Power, which was effectually done as before; they were now for reducing the Name too, as a Thing which they found furnish'd Matter of continual Disturbance: So in the Third Session of the Assembly 1577, it was ordain'd, That all Bishops and others, bearing Ecclesiastical Function, be called by their own Names, or Brethren only.‡

In the Seventh Session of the same Assembly they put a Stop to the Number, and ordered that

* *Spotswood*, lib. 5. fol. 277. The Form of Church-Polity was presented to the Regent by Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *David Lindsay*, and Mr. *James Lawson*.

† *Calderswood*, fol. 73, 74, 76, 77, 80. The Regent ever resisted the Work of the Polity, which was then in Hand, and press'd his own Injunctions and Conformity with *England*.

‡ *Calderswood's Hist.* fol. 82. That the said Act shall be extended to all Times to come, and till the Corruption of the State of Bishops be utterly removed out of the Church.

no Bishop be elected or admitted before the next General Assembly; forbidding Ministers and Chaplains to elect, or any way proceed to the Election of any Bishop, on Pain of Deprivation.

In the Assembly at *Sterling*, in June 1578, they made the said Law perpetual, and that all Bishops already elected, be required to submit themselves to the General Assembly. And thus that infant mongrel Episcopacy, so it was then called, was voted out of the Church as a Nuisance.

In the same Assembly they appointed a Committee to wait upon the King with the Book of Polity and a Supplication, which was done; and they were received well enough by the King with good Words and Promises of Kindness and Countenance, and a certain Number named by the Council to confer with them; tho' the King himself secretly hated both their Persons and Measures, for which Reason nothing could be obtained by that Conference.

The 16th of July after, the Parliament met; and the Commissioners, appointed by the Assembly to wait upon the Parliament, solicited to have the Book of Polity brought in there, and confirmed; but the Nobility always put it off, having, as afterwards appeared, no Kindness for the Strictness and Severity of Presbyterian Discipline.

Morton's Fall was not yet; for he still guided the King, and instilled early Thoughts into him in Prejudice of the Kirk, and in Favour of the Bishops.

However the Church went on against them, and the Assembly fell particularly upon two by Name, viz. Mr. Patrick Adamson, whom *Morton*, by his Letter, had made Bishop of St. Andrews, and Mr. John Boyd Bishop of Glasgow.

But now a second Attempt was made upon the Church, and that was by the King himself, or at least in his Name. The Assembly, as has been noted, having long struggled to obtain their Book of Polity, they had been always, tho' not absolutely denied to have it pass, yet so delay'd and postponed, that it was easie to see the Court was against them, and that it was not design'd to be pass'd at all; nevertheless they went on upon the Foot of the Scheme form'd, as what was their just Right to demand, tho' they had not Influence enough upon the Government to obtain the Grant.

Being thus, as I have noted, proceeding upon the Foot of the Polity as their Right, they receive a Letter from the King, dated at *Sterling* the 6th of July 1579, inhibiting them to proceed, and commanding them to refer all the Matters undecided in the Polity of the Kirk to the Decision of the next Parliament.*

The Assembly, notwithstanding this Letter, went on; but with all the Caution and Respect possible.

They examine the Articles referred, and present an Address to the King, desiring a farther Conference upon the Affair of the Polity, and followed this with a long Supplication, to move the King to farther this Book of Polity.

While this was in Consideration, and 2 or 3 Years spent in the pressing the Polity on one Hand, and putting it off on the other, in the Year 1580; the General Assembly finding, as they apprehended,

* *Calderswood*, fol. 86. [The Words in the Letter are] Forbearing any Proceedings at this Time that touch Matters heretofore not concluded by our Laws, or receiv'd into Practice; but whatsoever in the former Conferences, touching the Polity of the Kirk, was remitted to be decided by our Estates in Parliament, let it so rest without prejudging the same by any of your Conclusions at this Time.

that all they had yielded to before as to the Word Bishop, was improved to enlarge the Office and extend the Power of a Bishop, they resolve to pull it up by the Roots, and remove the very Name of it out of the Church; and in order to this, they pass two Acts, entirely abrogating the Office as unscriptural, declaring it void and unlawful, as having no Warrant or Foundation in the Word of God: Which Acts, being very remarkable, are worth perusing, and therefore, as abridg'd, are in the Notes underneath.*

Putting all these Accounts together with as much Impartiality as possible, 'tis manifest, and, I think, out of Dispute, that the Church of Scotland was in its original PRESBYTERIAN: I have nothing to do here with the Difference or the Disputes about which is the most scriptural, Episcopacy or Presbytery, that Dispute is handled very strongly by its self; but the Reason I have been so long on this Part, is to clear up the Question which has been the Occasion of so much Debate in the World, whether the first Reformation of Scotland was Episcopal or Presbyterian.

The Court had indeed, from the latter End of the Earl of *Mar's* Administration, struggled hard with the Assembly to reserve its own Power, and to have some Share in the Matter independent of the Assembly, and at the Convention at *Leith*, they got Ground, as has been hinted; but the Assembly vigorously opposed it, and afterwards overthrew it

* Forasmuch as the Office of a Bishop, as it is now used and commonly taken within this Realm, hath no sure Warrant, Authority, nor good Ground out of the Book of Scriptures; but is brought in by the Folly and Corruption of Mens Invention to the great Overthrow of the true Kirk of God: The whole Assembly, in one Voice, after Liberty given to all Men to reason in the Matter, none opposing themselves in defence of the said pretended Office, findeth and declareth the same pretended Office, used and termed as is abovesaid, unlawful in its self; as having neither Fundament, Ground, or Warrant in the Word of God; and Ordaineth, that all such Persons as brook, or hereafter shall brook the said Office, be charg'd simpliciter to demit, quit, and leave off the same, as an Office whereunto they are not called by God, and sic-like to desist and cease from preaching, Ministration of the Sacraments, or using any way the Office of Pastor, while they receive *de novo* Admission from the General Assembly, under the Pain of Excommunication, if they be found disobedient, to be pronounced and executed against them.—

The Second Act.

For the better executing the former Act it is ordained, That a Synodal Assembly the 17th of August next to come, shall be holden in every Province, where any usurping Bishops are, whereunto they shall be summoned by the Visitors of the said Country, viz. the Bishop of St. Andrews to compare at St. Andrews, the Bishop of Aberdeen in Aberdeen, the Bishop of Murray at Elgin, the Bishop of Glasgow in Glasgow, to give Obedience to the said Act, which if they refuse to do, the said Synodal Assembly shall appoint them to receive Admonition out of the Pulpit, warning them to compare before the General Assembly in Edinburgh the 20th of October next, to hear the Sentence of Excommunication pronounced against them for their Disobedience.

NOTE, the Bishop of *Dumblain* quietly conformed and submitted to this Act.

all again, and by these Acts entirely abolished the very Name of a Bishop in the Church.

I come now to enter into a sad Series of Strife between the Church and the Court upon this very Subject ; which continued with infinite Struggles, Ups, and Downs, intervals of Liberty, Storms of Tyranny, some horrid Scenes of Ruin and Destruction, and perhaps some Extremes on both Sides : All which harrass'd this poor Kingdom till at last the Restoration of King *Charles II.*, brought the Church quite under Foot : And there begins her PERSECUTED STATE. *Of which by it self.*

The Court were, no question, very ill pleased with this Proceeding of the Assembly—but they went still on with Steadiness : Several of the Bishops submitted to this Order of the Assembly, and made their Submission, the Copies of which, by after Times, their Successors being ashamed so plain a Testimony of Fact should appear, have been rac'd out of the Registers.*

At length the King being advanced, by the Death of the Queen of *England*, to the united Crown of *Great Britain*, the Disputes rested for some Time, the Court being taken up with the Rejoicings of their new Acquisition, and with the other Incidents of the new Government : And by this Means the Church of *Scotland* may be said to have got some Ground, even at that Time when the King, who was their avow'd Enemy, was so encreas'd in Power as to be formidable to them.

But the King was taken up with Mirth, and the Court in Revels, I had almost said in Debauchery ; and not the King only, but the Nobility also, who were always the Hinderers of the Reformation, were now absent, and not so much concerned about what became of the Church, when they had their private Fortunes to make by the Favour of their Prince. This Absence of the Court, I say, gave the Church great Advantage, and the General Assembly continued to assert and maintain their Establishment as Presbyterian in opposition to Episcopacy, notwithstanding all the Injunctions and Interruptions which they met with from the Court, and therefore this may very well be called the growing State of the Kirk.

But to go back to what happened in the mean Time. It was about the Year 1582, that the King, by the ill Government of the Duke of *Lenox*, Earl of *Arran*, &c. who had him, as it might be said, in Tutelage, had not only imposed and intruded the so much abhorred Prelacy upon the Church, but had insulted the Church in their Discipline and Government on many Occasions, too long to relate ; as particularly in the Affair of *Montgomery*, and the Tumult in *Glasgow*, where, in defence of a Man excommunicated for notorious Scandal, they mobbed the Presbytery, beat and very ill treated Mr. *John Howison* the Moderator, and wounded several of the Students of the College ; nor was it far from setting Fire to the College it self : It was said, that some of the King's Guards were employed upon this Riot, to encourage a Tumult ; for that the common People could not otherwise be brought to injure the Ministers after such a Manner.

* *Calderswood*, fol. 92. There wanteth here in the Register Part of the Third Session, the whole Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Part of the Seventh riven out, as the rest of them were by the same sacrilegious Hands in the Year 1584 ; where the Submission of the Bishops of *Glasgow*, *St. Andrews*, and the *Iles* were set down, every one of whom accepted a particular Kirk, [and so from Bishops, as now meant, became Ministers only, or Bishops in a Scripture-Sense.]

But the Kirk recovered all this, when a few Weeks after happened that memorable Attempt of the Noblemen against *Lenox* and *Arran*, called the Rode of *Ruthven*, taking the King out of their Hands, by Force, and carrying him to *Sterling*. This, I say, was called the Rode of *Ruthven*, of which we shall hear a great deal more, and was put in Execution August 20, 1582, as the King came back from the great annual hunting in *Athol*.

It is not to our Purpose to enter into the History or Causes of this Attempt : It is enough to say, that the Power of these two Noblemen, or at least their imprudent exercising of that Power was become intollerable to the Nation, and the rest of the Nobility and Gentry concerned, found no other way to deliver themselves from it, but to set the King at Liberty to act by better Council.

They presented a Declaration to the King of their Reasons for this Conduct, and carrying his Majesty to *Sterling*, they gave him full Liberty of his Person and a free Exercise of his Government, only taking Care that the Administration was entirely removed from the hated Hands of *Lenox* and *Arran*.

The King, tho' he never forgave this Action, and to his last resented it against the Kirk, as if they had been the only Instruments, yet complied with the Time, and the Earl of *Arran* being clapp'd up in *Duplin* Castle, and the Duke of *Lenox*, charg'd by Proclamation, to depart the Country, his Majesty consented that a Proclamation should be published, intimating that he was in the Town of *Perth*, at full Liberty ; that he staid there of his own Choice for some Time, and that he approved of all the Lords had done as for his Interest and Service. At the same Time a Proclamation was also published for restoring the Liberties of the Kirk, the Freedom of their Assemblies and Judicatures, and for encouraging the Ministers in Discharge of their Duty.

Thus the Church got the Day of their Adversaries, and all Violences offered to their Judicatures, the Laws made to restrain their Liberties or abridge their Rights, were declared to be unjust and illegal, and were laid to the Charge of the said Duke of *Lenox* and Earl of *Arran* ; SUCH AS the Disposition of Benefices *Pleno Jure*, without the Examination of the Persons, and Admission by the Kirk, making the King and his Council Judges in Matters merely ecclesiastical ; discharging or prohibiting the General Assembly to proceed to Excommunication ; annulling the Sentence of Excommunication when past ; Prelacy obtruded upon them contrary to the Principles of the Church of *Scotland*, who had declared in the General Assembly, that the same was unscriptural, devilish, and of humane Invention, and the like.

Upon this Declaration a General Assembly was convened to meet at *Edinburgh*, the 9th of October 1582, and this was perhaps the first Assembly, even from the Reformation, in which it might be said the Church had an uninterrupted Liberty to exert her full Power in her own Establishment.

At this Assembly the Laird of *Paisley*, in the Name of the associated Lords, declared, that the Dangers of the Ecclesiastical Constitution, and of Religion it self, as well as the Danger of the King's Person and of the Civil Government, were the principal Causes of their late Undertaking, and they desired the Concurrence of the Assembly, as well in recognizing the Necessity of what had been done, as in concerting what was yet to be done for the establishing and securing both the Church and State.

The Assembly unanimously voted (every Member being severally asked) the Reality of the Dangers attending the Reformation and the Church. The King, upon the Assembly's sending some of their Body to him, readily declared, that not only his own Person, but Religion it self was in Peril, and that such Measures had been entered into as must necessarily have overturn'd the Reformation; that he esteem'd his own Safety and the Safety of Religion to be inseparable, and exhorted the Assembly to do their Duty to remove the Dangers that threatned both him and them.

This occasioned that famous Act of the Assembly, wherein the Reformation is recognized, and the pursuing it recommended earnestly as well to Ministers as People; all the Ministers are exhorted to set forth the Dangers of the Church, the King, and the Common-wealth to their Flocks, in the most pressing Manner, urging all who love and tender the Glory of God, the prosperous State of the King and Common-wealth, to concur with them in their Endeavour to their full Deliverance.

After this the Assembly proceeded with Vigour to exert themselves: They erected Presbyteries and Church-Judicatures in such Parts where there were none before, as in the Northern Provinces of *Sutherland, Caithness, Ross, Murray, Aberdeen, &c.*

Then they empowered the Presbyteries to summon before them the Bishops, and to cause them to answer to the said Presbyteries for such Offences as they should be accused of: The Crimes the said Bishops were thus accused of were such as these:

- Not Preaching, and administering the Sacraments, as is the Duty of a Gospel-Minister.
- Neglect in Discipline.
- Error in Doctrine.
- Associating themselves with excommunicated Persons.
- Wasting of the Patrimony of the Kirk.
- Letting Leases of Land against the Prohibitions of the Kirk.
- Collating to Benefices against the Tenor of the Acts of the Kirk.
- Scandal in Life and Conversation.

And many other Things, not then articulated, which were left to the Examination of Witnesses. And the Presbyteries were farther empowered to hear, try, acquit, and condemn, as the Matters of Fact should appear to them.

The Time was now come when the Authority of the Church had its full Establishment: The Convention of Estates, which was then called, and which met at *Perth*, gave Room to the Assembly to lay all their Grievances before them, which was done in 22 Articles, and their Demands of particular Redress for Wrong and Wreck, as it was called, in 11 Articles more.

The Bishops were now deposed, and many of them submitted to become Pastors of private Parish-Churches.

The Laird of *Minto*, who, at the Head of a Mob, had insulted the Moderator of the Presbytery of *Glasgow*, submitted himself to the Assembly, and begg'd Pardon.

Mr. *Robert Montgomery*, whose Case had raised such Disputes between the King and the Church; the Church excommunicating him, and the King restoring him by proclamation; came in and submitted, offering to undergo the Injunctions of the Presbytery of *Glasgow*, and desiring to be received into the Bosom of the Church.

And thus stood the Affairs of the Church at the Beginning of the Year 1583, but it continued but

for a short While; for the King, impatient of the good Government of the Lords, and inwardly hating the Church, contriv'd to make his Escape from *Falkland*, which, by the Assistance of another Faction among the Nobility, he effected the 28th of August 1583, taking Refuge in the Castle of *St. Andrews*: Thither repair'd immediately all those among the Nobility who were privy to the Design; and thus they laid the Foundation of an entire Change of Measures and Persons in his Administration.

As in the State, so in the Church, all Things tended to Change; saving only that the Assembly, maintaining their Principles, stood their Ground against the Court with a Constancy of Zeal which could never be subdued.

However, the Bishops immediately got footing by this Turn of the Court, and the Bishop of *St. Andrews* being in the Castle there, immediately reassumed his Office and Character, presuming on the King's Protection, as openly as if he had been placed in it by a legal Authority, even the King himself not yet declaring his Consent to his Attempt.

During these Transactions, the General Assembly, conven'd at *Edinburgh*, (viz.) the 20th of October; nor did they slack their Hands in their Proceedings against the Bishops, notwithstanding the King appeared now openly of the Prelatick Party; for they call'd for the Report of their Commissioners, appointed by the former Assembly, to proceed against four Delinquent Bishops, viz. the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Bishops of the *Isles, Dunkeld, and Dunblain*.

The Archbishop had been summoned by the Synod of *Fife*, *apud acta*, to appear at this Assembly, which, he now thinking himself too high to submit to, declined to do; so they proceeded against him as in Contempt; and the Process against his Woman Counsellor *Alison Parson*, as a Witch, was also brought before the Assembly, and a Committee was appointed to examine Witnesses against them both.

They also resolved now to make a Representation of their Grievances, and of the State of the Church and Kingdom, and lay the same before the King himself in Discharge of themselves: This some of the Ministers prest with the more Earnestness, prophetically suggesting that a Cloud of Darkness and Persecution was coming upon them, and would break over their Heads in a violent and furious Storm, as well from the Prelates as from the King himself. The Heads of this Representation are at large to be seen in the Histories of those Times. Having drawn out their Grievances, some of which pointed directly at the King as a Favourer of the Enemies of God, as well Popish as prelatick; they sent Ten Commissioners with it to the King then at *Sterling*: They were very coldly received, and told, that the King advised the Assembly to keep within the Bounds of their proper Business: The Commissioners were sent back again to desire a more particular Answer; but were told they had been fully answered already.

At this Time two of the most bold and zealous Members of the Assembly died, (viz. Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnot*, Principal of the College at *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *Thomas Smeton*, Principal of the College at *Glasgow*. By the Loss of these two great Men their Hands were extremely weakened in the Struggles they were quickly to meet with.

However, during the Sitting of this Assembly they abated nothing of what they thought their

Duty : They prosecuted the Archbishop to such a Hight, that he was obliged to feign an Embassy into *England* upon publick Affairs, tho' others said he was worse employed, and fearing a Sentence of Deposition, he obtained from the King to be freed from Censure during his Absence. It was said, that during this Journey into *England*, he concerted with some of the Episcopal Clergy there, those wicked Measures by which he afterward oppressed the Church of *Scotland*, and in the End overthrew it for a Time.

That famous Supporter of the Church's Cause, Mr. *John Durie*, was one of the first that felt the Effects of the new Change, being commanded by the King to depart from *Edinburgh*, and remain at *Montrose*, which he submitted to; but both the Town Council and the Kirk-Session of *Edinburgh* gave him noble Testimonials both of his Life and Doctrine; which was more to his Honour than all the Reproach his Enemies laid upon him could overbalance.

The persecuting the Ministers was the first Work the new Establishment began with, before they fell upon the Church it self; and even in their dealing with the Ministers they acted cautiously, and strove to begin with such Things as they called legal Prosecutions for pretended Offences: Afterwards they grew bolder, and fell upon them in a grosser Manner.

In these pretended legal Prosecutions Mr. *Andrew Melvin's* Case was the most famous Example: He was summoned before the Council, where he was questioned for offensive Words spoken in the Pulpit, on a Fast-Day, reflecting on the King and his Administration, saying, *That the King was unlawfully promoted to the Crown, with other seditious Words.* The University, resolving to assert their Privileges, sent two of their Body with a Testimonial in his Behalf, sign'd by 30 of their principal Men, as well Masters as Students, and demanded that he should be censured only by the University; the Presbyteries of the Bounds sent Commissioners to protest against the Proceedings as against the Liberties of the Church, and Mr. *Melvin* himself declin'd the Jurisdiction of the Council in his Case, in a long Declaration, which is to be seen at large in Mr. *Calderswood's* History, fol. 144, 145. But all these were rejected by the Council. In this Declaration he both positively denied the Words, solemnly and before God, protesting that he never spoke them, accused the Informer of Malice and declared Prejudice, and justified what he had really said to be according to God's Word and his own Duty: Upon giving in this Declaration, he retired into *England*, having Notice that he was to be confined in *Blackness* Castle. After his Retreat he was publicly praised, and pray'd for in the Pulpit by the Ministers in *Edinburgh*, which, as the History of those Times expresses it, pleased the People and galled the Court.

In the mean Time the Land was full of Troubles, the Lords of *Angus* and *Mar* surprized the Castle of *Sterling*; but their great Friend *Gowry* being taken, and others secur'd, and they being not strong enough to defend themselves against the young King, who came against them with a great Army, they fled into *England*: The Castle was surrendered, the Captain and Three others, who surrendered it, were hanged: This Attempt weakened the Hands of the Church and their Friends, making their Enemies not only more strong, but also more furious than they were before. The General Assembly was appointed to be held at St. *Andrews*, the 24th of April 1584, where the Number

of Ministers, who durst appear, were but very few: The Commissioner whom the King sent to them, being their declar'd and enrag'd Enemy, his Name was *Graham of Halyards*, at that Time Justice Depute.

This *Graham* used them after an unaccustomed Manner, exerting a Power which they allowed not to be the Right, even of the King himself: He treated them in a rude and imperious Manner also, with all possible Disrespect. First he demanded of them, on Pain of Rebellion and Treason, to annul a former Act of Assembly, approving the *Rode of Ruthven*, and by a new Act to condemn it. At the same Time he entered into a Treaty with the Provost and Bailies of St. *Andrews* to imprison those Ministers that should not comply. But the Ministers got Notice of it, and being resolved not to comply, they silently declined the Assembly, and dropt out of Town, one by one, leaving the Commissioner to sit by himself. He had, it seems, private Instructions to seize upon Four of the leading Ministers, viz. Mr. *James Lawson*, *David Lindsay*, *Patrick Galloway*, and *Andrew Hay*. The Three first appeared in the Assembly, but he being willing to snap them all at once, waited for the Fourth till those that were there got Notice, and escaped, and so he mist them all; for which he was very much laughed at. The few Ministers that remained refused to act, giving for Answer, that they were too few to constitute an Assembly; so the Commissioner retired.

Note: at this Assembly, the Court influencing the Nobility, the Barons and Gentlemen, who, as ruling Elders, were used to be sent up from the Provinces, and were allowed to sit and vote with them, were forbid by the Court coming to the Assembly.

The Four Ministers abovenamed were sought after, high and low, to be apprehended, and would have been put to Death, especially Mr. *Patrick Galloway*; but they made their Escape for that Time, as did also many other Ministers, such as Mr. *John Davison*, Mr. *James Carmichael*, Mr. *Andrew Polwart*, and many others.

Now was the Court resolved, in Conjunction with the Bishops, to ruin and overthrow the Church; and to this End, the Negotiations of the Archbishop in *England* having succeeded so far as to have all possible Concurrence from thence; to finish it the King called a Parliament: In this Parliament Matters were managed so underhand by the Court, that it seemed rather a private Council, than a Parliament. The Lords of the Articles, which were a Committee so called whose Work it was to prepare Business for the Cognizance of the House, were sworn to Secrecy, and when the House sat the Doors were lock'd up.

However, the Ministers got Intelligence of what was doing. *Calderswood* in his Account of this Part says, one of the Lords of the Articles betrayed them, fol. 155. Be that as it will, a Letter was privately sent to the Ministers in *Edinburgh*, from an unknown Hand, assuring them that the whole Business of that Parliament was to destroy the Church, and bid them take speedy Care about it. The Ministers knew not what to do, but they deputed Mr. *David Lindsay*, Minister of *Leith*, who was thought to be a Man acceptable to the King, to represent their Case, and to pray, in the humblest Manner, that an Assembly might be called and heard in Parliament, before any Thing was done to the Prejudice of the Church. But instead of hearing this, the King caused Mr. *Lindsay* to be apprehended, as he was going into the Palace, and

carried away to *Blackness-Castle*, without permitting him to deliver his Message: They sent other Messengers, to make Protest in open Parliament, but to no purpose; they could not get in. However, two Ministers, (*viz.*) Mr. Robert Pont, and Mr. Balcanquhall, by their private Interest, did get in, and did make a Protest against the Proceedings.

Not content with this Proceeding, the King and Council sent an Order to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, that in Case any Minister did, in the Pulpit, offer to speak any Thing against the Proceedings of the Parliament, they should instantly pull them down from the Pulpit, and commit them to Prison; so the Acts were passed to destroy the Church, and to erect the Episcopal Hierarchy in its Room, and were proclaimed at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*: The said Mr. Pont and Mr. Balcanquhall taking Instruments of their Protest against it in the Name and Behalf of the Church. But the said Ministers had no sooner done so, but they were oblig'd to fly, as did also Mr. James Lawson, and several others.

These Acts of Parliament, for protesting against which the Ministers were thus used, amounted to neither more nor less than an Acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy, and the Government of the Church by Bishops, &c.

It has been an Observation, which, I believe, will hold good throughout all Ages of the Church since the Reformation, that no sooner was Episcopacy, upon any Occasion, set up in the Church of *Scotland*, but it began always to persecute the Presbyterian Church. And this was the Case here; for soon after this the Parliament sat again, *viz.* the 28th of August 1584, when an Act was made, enjoining all Ministers, Masters of Colleges, and other Ecclesiastick Persons, to appear within 40 Days, and subscribe the new Constitution of the Church, as it was then called, and submit to their Diocesan, on Pain of losing their Stipends.

Some Ministers refused this, and were sorely persecuted by the Council; but they continued to declare against it as illegal, and being questioned by the Council, how they durst oppose or condemn an Act of Parliament, they answered boldly, that they would condemn every Thing that was repugnant to the Word of God. Mr. Craig, one of these Ministers, was greatly insulted by the Earl of Arran; but he answered him in a Kind of prophetick Rage, That God should, in a short Time, cast him from his Horse, meaning his Pride and Power, and humble him for mocking the Servants of God. This came literally to pass in a few Years after, the Earl being unhorsed by Douglas of Parkhead, and killed.

On this Occasion Mr. Craig was depriv'd, and forbid to preach in *Edinburgh*, and the Archbishop went up into his Pulpit to preach, by Order of the King and Council; but when the People saw him come up into the Pulpit, instead of their own Minister, they universally rose up and went out of the Church, the Court-Party only staying in the Place. The Copy of the Subscription required of the Ministers was as follows.

We the Benefic'd-Men, Ministers, and Masters of Schools and Colleges, testify and promise by these our Hand-Writes, our dutiful and humble Submission to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, and to obey, with all Humility, his Highness Act of his late Parliament, holden at *Edinburgh* the 22d day of May 1584. And that according to the same we shall shew our Obedience to our Ordinar, Bishop, or COMMISSIONER appointed by his Majesty to have the Exercise of spiritual Jurisdiction

in our DIOCESS. And in Case of our Disobedience in these Premises, to be content that our Benefices, Livings, and Stipends VAKE *ipso facto*, and that qualified and obedient Persons be provided in our Room, as if we were naturally dead. Witness, &c.

The Ministers that refused to subscribe this Paper, went into voluntary Banishment and remained in *England*, but mostly about *Berwick*, where the banished Lords also resided; but they had their Preaching even there but in private; for such was the Correspondence between the Episcopal People in *Scotland* and the Church of *England*, that albeit the Queen of *England* permitted the banished Lords and Ministers of *Scotland* to harbour in *England*, yet would she not admit them to have Preaching in publick, as not being consonant to the Worship of the Church in *England*. Great Instance was made to Queen Elizabeth to deliver up those Noblemen and fugitive Ministers, which nevertheless she would never do; but she yielded at last to oblige them to reside farther from the Borders.

During these Oppressions, many Ministers of the Kirk complied with and subscrib'd the Form above, with some Alterations. Mr. Andrew Simpson, Minister of *Dalkeith*, subscribed thus:

I MASTER ANDREW SIMPSON, Minister of *Dalkeith*, swear by the Name of the great God, that I shall not preach any Heresie or seditious Doctrine, nor shall privately or publickly stir up the King's Majesty's Subjects to any Rebellion, and shall obey all his Laws and Acts of Parliament, so far as they agree with the Word of God.

Others absolutely refused, and Mr. Dalgleish, Minister of the *West Kirk* at *Edinburgh* was one; insomuch that a Scaffold was erected for his Execution, which, however, could not bring him off, neither would he ever comply. At last the Court was fain to publish an Explanation of it, softening the Meaning. But tho' this Explanation, which was penn'd by the Archbishop, was accepted with much Applause in *England*, and the Scots Ministers were censur'd then for rejecting it, yet it gain'd but very little upon the Ministers in *Scotland*, and serv'd only to shew the Weakness of those Acts which they took so much Pains to explain.

In this Condition stood the Church for some Years, struggling with daily Innovations, the King their open and declared Enemy, and only supported by the Integrity of her Ministers and People: The great Subject upon which the Ministers were persecuted was, the subscribing the Obligation mentioned; all such as refused were displac'd, and turn'd out; and this continued to the Year 1587, when it pleased God to give a new Turn to the Affairs of *Scotland*, of which the following brief Account will inform us.

The banished Lords, who, as has been said, the Queen of *England* had been unkind to, were gone South; but an Accident happen'd upon the Borders, which brought them back; for on the 26th of July 1585, at a Meeting of the Wardens of the Borders on either Side, to adjust some Disputes, instead of an Agreement, they fell to Blows, and the young Lord Russel, eldest Son to the Earl of Bedford, with some other English Men were slain by the Laird of Fernihurst: Queen Elizabeth resenting this as a high Affront, shewed her Resolution to revenge it; and immediately, as a Beginning, she smiles upon the Refugee-Lords, and encourages them with Money and Promises of Assistance to return into their Country by a strong Hand: The Confusions

ence arose about the *English Service-Book*, which drove him back to *Geneva*.

Here he drew the Model of Church Governmetn which he after presented to the Reformers in *Scotland* for the Scheme of theirs; and by this was that Book of Policy or Discipline formed which we are now to treat of. Some Historians have called it *John Knox's Work*: Others say, it was done by a *Committee.

They that would call it *John Knox's*, strive to do it because the Article of Superintendents being mentioned in this Book of Discipline, they would have *John Knox* be acknowledged to be of Episcopal Principles.

But I conceive, that all this Dispute about the Superintendents would be at an End, if it were examined, whether these Superintendents were not really Bishops? And whether the true Episcopacy is not plainly to be reduced to the ministerial Function? So that this is so far from justifying the Authority, Dignity, and Superiority of Bishops, as now practised, that it rather brings down the Bishops to the Station of those Superintendents, the utmost of whose Authority is by *Dr. Rule* plainly proved to be very consistent with *Presbyterian Parity*, a Thing which, if well +considered, would soon put an End to this Debate.

This Book of Discipline, however, could not obtain, with the Lords, to a general Assent, whether *Mr. Knox* formed it or not; 'tis plain he exceedingly press'd to have it pass'd in the Convention. Bishop *Spotswood* says, the Estates at that Time did not think it meet to enter into the Examination of the *Polity*. By this he would insinuate, that the Reformation was settled in general, as to Doctrine, and that all agreed in the Suppression of Popery; but that the Manner, Order, Policy, or Discipline of the Church was left uncertain and undetermined. But neither will this answer: For tho' as an Assembly or Convention they did not sign it, yet as private Men, the whole Body of the first Reformers, who had been called *The Congregation*, and who had done all the Work, signed it—These were the Duke of *Chatellerauld*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Marshall*, *Monteith*, *Morton*, and *Rothies*; Lords, *James Hamilton*, *Yester*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltree*, *Sanguhar*, *Lindsay*: And Abundance of the Gentry, Barons, and Burgesses, with one Bishop, viz. of *Galloway*, and the Dean of *Murray*.

But to go on with our History.

Thus far the Convention had acted in behalf of the Church: (1.) They pull'd down, and by an Act, abolished Popery for ever. (2.) They declared the Confession of the Protestant Faith, and pass'd the Articles of it into an Act: And thus they set the Church upon her own Legs, and then left her to settle and fix her self upon such Foundations of Discipline and Government as she should determine.

In order to this, the first General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland* sat down at *Edinburgh*, the 20th of *December*, 1560.

Their chief Work was appointing and receiving Ministers, and that alone determined, that the

* Commission was given to *Mr. John Winram*, *John Spotswood*, the Bishop's Father, *John Willock*, *John Douglas*, *John Ren*, and *John Knox*, to draw up a Book of Policy and Discipline of the Church, as they had done of the Doctrine.

+ *Spotswood*, lib. III. fol. 174. It had been fram'd by *John Knox*, partly in Imitation of the reformed Churches in *Germany*, and partly of that he had seen at *Geneva*.

very Office of Superintendent was subjected to the Assembly; but if that did not, we shall see in a few Years they take upon them to limit, approve, and disapprove their Actions.

Even in this first Assembly, the other Party made some Struggle about the Authority of Assembling without the Queen's Command, and as this has been a Point frequently push'd at since, and once not very long ago, and may, in Time, come to be push'd at again, it cannot be amiss to set down the Argument then used, which, in short, was this principally.

They had then a Popish Queen, who, unwillingly, stoop'd to Necessity in the Reformation, their Words are these, viz. if the Liberty of the Kirk should depend upon the Allowance and Disallowance of the Sovereign, we may be deprived, not only of Assemblies, but of the publick Preaching of the Gospel. Take from the Church the Freedom of Assemblies, and you take from us the Reformation; for how shall the Government of the Church be supported, Order and Unity in Doctrine be maintained, but by the Liberty of holding Assemblies, and keeping up the judicial Authority of the Church entire. This way of Arguing was never yet answered, and, I presume, will not easily be answered.

It was then moved, in the Assembly, that the Queen might be desired to ratifie the Book of Discipline, but it was deferred for that Time.

The Queen was now returned to *Scotland*, an. 1561, and began to take Cognizance of her Affairs, in which she very early discovered her Dislike of what was doing, and her general Aversion to the Reformation.

It seem'd, however, that the Queen, enclined to stoop to the Necessity of the Times, and to acquiesce in the new Church Settlement, with allowing her the liberty of her own Opinion, and to have Mass said in private in her own Chapel—but this gave great Offence, and the Ministers particularly insisted upon it, that it was against their Engagements for the abolishing Idolatry, and, inculcating this on the People, the Queen found she lost very much of their Affection by it, and not only so, but met with some Affronts in it also. However, resolved to support, not only her Authority, but her Party, she proceeded warmly.

She put the Provost of *Edinburgh* into the Castle, and obliged the Citizens to choose another. This was done for their forbidding the Popish Priests to be received into the Town. She then commanded the Town-Council of *Edinburgh* to choose a new Provost, which they, for Fear, at that Time complied with. Next by Proclamation, she made the City of *Edinburgh* free, as she term'd it, for all her Subjects to repair to on their lawful Occasions. This restor'd the Papists: And here she not only had the better of the City, but really seemed to have some Right on her Side, and therefore the Lords did not stand by the Citizens in it as was expected.

Indeed the Court being now formed, and the Queen acting with great Candour in other Things, the Nobility began to be drawn in by Offices, Salaries, and Preferments; together with the Emulation and Ambition, usual in such Cases; so that the Lords, who were before, the most zealous for the Reformation, tho' they retained their sincere Profession of the Protestant Religion, yet they remitted much of their former Zeal, and seemed to be drawn off from their Strictness in the Prosecution of, and their warm Application to the great Work of all. And this our Historians, of both

Parties,* very much complain of, as if they had abandoned the Reformation: However, they soon gave good Evidence to the contrary.

Little pass'd now for some Time in the Affairs of the Reformation, the Assembly had their constant Dyets, and peaceably proceeded in Church-Affairs, as Matters presented: The Queen suffered them to go on, but at the same Time she shewed, on all Occasions, that she secretly resolved to cut them short, as Opportunity should present.

In this interval one Thing happened which might have shewn her, that the Protestants, their Religion being but secured to them, were very loyal to her Person, and to her Government also; for in the Insurrection, which about that Time was raised by *Huntley* and the *Gordons*, she saw the Papists in Arms against her, and the Lord *James Stuart*, who was now Earl of *Murray*, and was the most zealous Reformer, fighting for her with a Band of Protestants at the Battle at *Corrichie*, where *Huntley* was routed, and kill'd, and all his popish Party scattered.

The long Accounts now intervene in our Histories of the Queen's proposed Interview with the Queen of *England*, and how the Papists disappointed it, from the very same Principles which they did the Interview of King *James V.* and *Henry VIII.* of *England* long before. Also the History of the Queen's Amours with the Lord *Darnley*, and that wretched Marriage from whence so many Mischiefs ensued; how the Exorbitance of *David Rizzio* brought not only his own Ruin upon his Head, but the exasperated King running into the unhappy Excess of Jealousie and Murder, so alienated the Queen from him, as to run her into the same Extremes of Murder and Revenge: And this upon the very Person of her Husband: These are sad Stories, and as they have no Concern in this Work, so I am not delighting enough in such tragical Relations, as to make a Digression here to introduce them, neither do they relate at all to the Affairs of the Church. To which I return.

Soon after the Defeat of the *Gordons*, the Queen calls a Parliament; when she made so many Concessions to the Protestants that some blind sort of People began to fancy the Queen would come over to the reformed Religion: But she soon undeceived them.

For the Match between the Queen and the Lord *Darnley* now coming forward, the Protestant Nobility took Umbrage at the Consequences, the Lord *Darnley* professing himself Popish.

The Queen summon'd the Estates of the Kingdom to *Sterling*, to give their Assent to her Marriage.

There was little Opposition made in that Parliament, either to that or any Thing else; the Nobility, in Complaisance to the Queen, complying more

readily than was expected, only one *Lord opposing it. But the Papists shewed themselves so much exalted, and behaved with so little Caution in their Hopes, that it occasioned great Jealousie among the Nobility, and was partly the Occasion of what followed; for no sooner was this Assent of the Estates to the Marriage made publick, but the People fell into a Rage, saying, that the Lords of the Estates had broke in upon their Engagements, and would overthrow the Reformation: Several Tumults also happened, particularly in *Edinburgh*, which the Queen prosecuted with great Severity.

But now the Lords, of whom I noted before that they were suspected to be yielding too much to the Court, began to open their Eyes and come to themselves, joining themselves together to oppose this Marriage, and to maintain the Reformation.

The General Assembly of the Church was sitting at the same Time, and as all People began to entertain Jealousies of the Queen's Designs, and strong Apprehensions filled the Heads of those that were most concern'd for Religion, seeing the Queen resolved to support Popery, and that she was now going to strengthen that Interest with a Popish Match: So they formed a Petition to her Majesty, containing Eight Heads. The 2d Article, of which was, That the Protestant Religion should be openly professed by all Persons, and by the Queen her self. The Queen's Answer, very sharp and satirical, is, with the Articles of the Petition, set down at large in *Spotswood's* History, wherein she rejects their Petition, and tells them plainly she will not change her Religion, nor put the Patronage of Benefices out of her Hands.

Tho' they could expect no other Answer, yet this inflamed Matters, and serv'd to fix the Confederation, and restore the Zeal of the Nobility, who had now begun to oppose her, and in which she afterwards found her Ruine.

The Match was now fix'd, and the Queen married to the Lord *Darnley*, in *July* 1564, disregarding the Representation of the discontented Lords, who openly profess'd it to be against the Liberties of the Kingdom, and began to arm.

The Queen prepar'd to oppose them, and march'd towards *Sterling*, and the King with her; but the Lords, not prepared for Resistance, fled to *Paisley*, near *Glasgow*; from thence, being followed by the Queen's Forces, they fled to *Hamilton*, thence to *Edinburgh*, then separated, some fled to *England*, and some reconciled themselves to the Queen: Thus the first Beginnings of this Fire were quenched for a while, and the People quieted, who nevertheless were zealous in the Cause, tho' discouraged by these unhappy Beginnings. The Nobility being thus dispersed for some Time, the Protestant Cause seem'd to lie bleeding. The Lords, who fled to *England*, obtained the Queen of *England* to interceed for them by her Ambassador; but she was, as it were,† bid to mind her own Business, and not to concern her self in these Matters.

* *Spotswood*, lib. 4. fol. 183. Some of the Noblemen who had, in former Times, shewed themselves most zealous against the Toleration of Idolatry, were grown a little more cold by the Flatteries of the Court; and all of them emulous of each other's Greatness, were striving who should be in most Favour with the Queen.

Calderswood, Hist. fol. 34. The Courtiers and Lords depending upon the Court, came not to the Assembly; but the Day following, to avoid Suspicion, they came; These he names, viz. The Duke, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray*, *Glencairn*, *Morton*, *Roths*, &c. The very Authors and Beginners of the Congregation.

* *Spotswood*, lib. 4. fol. 189. Lord *Ochiltrey* only opposed it openly, professing that he would never consent to admit a King of the Popish Religion.

Ibid, lib. 4. fol. 190. The Earls of *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, and *Roths*, assisted by the Duke of *Chatellerauld*, meeting together at *Sterling*, after the Queen was gone, resolved to oppose the Marriage.

† *Spotswood's* History, lib. 4. fol. 190, 191.

‡ *Spot.* fol. 192. The Messenger had his Answer in Writing, viz. That Queen *Elizabeth* would do well to have no meddling with the Affairs of Scot-

in the Assembly, but praising God, and praying for the King.*

While the King continued in this Mood, the Church gat Ground, and went on in a truly growing Condition; her Judicatures were acknowledg'd, her Authority established, and her Episcopal Enemies truckled. And I cannot give a better instance to confirm this last, than the Submission and Recantation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the most implacable and inveterate Enemy of the Church, who had mortgaged Faith and Conscience for the Cause of Episcopacy, and had made Shipwrack of BOTH, as will appear under his Hand. This Recantation being so eminent, and the Character of the Man so well known, it is necessary to record it with the History of the Times; because it is a standing Monument of the Subjection of the Episcopal Hierarchy to the presbyterial Institution.

Nor can the Friends of the Church of Scotland desire two greater Testimonies to her divine Institution, than these from the Mouths of her two greatest Opposers, viz. the King and the Archbishop. The Acknowledgment of Enemies has a double Force in it: 'Tis a Confession that comes generally extorted by the Force of Truth, and the Influence of Conscience, as Julian the Apostate acknowledg'd Christ, when the poisoned Dart stuck in his Flesh. If we may believe the History of that Time, the Church of Scotland had not two more such powerful, and perhaps implacable Enemies in that Age, nay, scarcely before or since, as the King and the Archbishop, and both of them are now brought to acknowledge the Purity of her Doctrine, the Exactness of her Discipline; *the one* to thank God for being born under such a sincere and heavenly Institution; *the other*, to cry God and the Church's Mercy for his apostatizing from it, and desiring to die in the Arms of that Church of which before he had been so cruel a Persecutor.

But to go on with the Bishop's Story. He had been excommunicated by the Synod of Fife, as has been said; one of his Crimes was Marrying the Marquess of Huntly, without requiring him to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and after the Presbytery of Edinburgh had inhibited any Minister to do it. For this he was pursued at Law, and stood out to a *Horning*, as it is there called, (viz.) to a Contempt or Execution; and the King beginning to be weary of the Contest, and willing, perhaps, at that Time to please the Assembly, abandon'd him, and deprived him of the Revenue of the Bishoprick; whether these Misfortunes, or the Reproaches of his own Conscience, brought him down, I will not determine, Charity bids us judge the best. But he fell into a languishing and grievous Sickness: In this Condition he acknowledges his Offence against God and against the Ministers, and sent to them to let them know it, and to offer himself to make publick Confession in the Pulpit, to give Satisfaction to all who had been offended at his Behaviour. He sent also to the Presbytery of St. Andrews, desiring they would give him Absolution, and receive him again into Communion, and into the Fellowship with the Saints.

The Ministers were doubtful of him for a long Time, they knew not the just Reasons, however were loth to resist the Work of Repentance, if begun in Sincerity, and were inclin'd to receive him, upon his giving Satisfaction by a publick Acknowledgment, as he proposed; but it soon appeared there was no Room for it, his Sickness being vio-

lent and dangerous: So they directed Two of their Body to go to him, and enquire of his Circumstances, and make their Report. These were Mr. James Melvin and Mr. Andrew Moncrief. As soon as the Bishop saw them enter his Room, he pull'd off his Cap, and raising himself he said, calling them by their Names, *Forgive me, forgive me, for God's Sake; for I have grievously offended you in particular.* They replied, that they forgave him, with all their Heart, and gave him their Hands thereupon; but began to talk with him about his publick Sins, and to exhort him to an unfeigned Repentance and Amendment: This he received with great Affection. Then they proceeded to ask him if he acknowledged the Validity of the Church's Censure, and of the Excommunication he was under. He told them YES, *he acknowledg'd it*; and cried out, *I pray ye loose me, loose me, for Christ's Sake*; and this he spoke with such Earnestness, and with so many Tears, that they could no longer doubt of his Sincerity, and having comforted him as well as they could, they left him, and making their Report to the rest of the Ministers, they met thereupon, and in a solemn Manner absolved him, giving Thanks to God who had been pleased to restore him by Conviction and Repentance.

In April following, the Synod of Fife meeting at St. Andrews, the Bishop, (*I call him so for Distinction*), they called him only Mr. Patrick Adamson) sent his Recantation in *Latin*; but the Synod desired him to cause it to be drawn again in *English*, and that he would make it as full and clear as he could, and set his Hand to it, which he did, and which is so worthy to be read with the rest of the Story, that I could not omit placing it in the Appendix to this Part, No. B. There needs no more to be added of the Bishop, save that about February, the Year following, he died.

At this Time, if ever in this King's Reign, the Church may be said to have been in its full grown Strength; tho' it lasted not long; for the King having, as was said, smil'd upon them, caress'd and complimented them, *tho' it soon appeared that it was no more*, and their Arch-Enemy having, as above, been reduced, they enjoyed a great Measure of Liberty and Authority: Some few Things indeed were wanting, which they set forth in their Petitions to the King and Council in Nine Articles, which, tho' the King did not immediately grant, yet they had kind Answers, and so much was done as to make them something easie. These Articles were,

1. That all Laws that have been made for the Weal of the true Kirk be ratified in Parliament, and a new Act pass'd, establishing the Jurisdiction of the Kirk, and all contrary Laws be abolished.
2. That the Kirk and Country be forthwith purged from Popish Priests and Excommunicates.
3. That a Law be made for repressing and punishing the Abusers of the Sacraments.
4. That Ministers be maintained in the possession of their *Glebes, Mansees, &c.*
5. That Order be taken with the Author of the Tumult at the Bridge of Dee.
6. That Laws be made against violating the Sabbath, and disturbing of Ministers in, or going about the Execution of their Office.
7. *Ibid.* for repressing of Rapin and Murder, that the Land may be purged of Blood.
8. That all Churches be forthwith planted with Ministers, &c. and sufficient Stipends allotted them.

* *Calderswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, fol. 256.

2. That the Lands mortified to the Church, *i. e.* given by deceased Persons in their Will, with the Residue of the Tithes, which are not employed for Minister's Stipends, be bestowed on the Schools, Colleges, &c. As also for Provision for the Poor, and repairing the Kirks.

All these Things the King had promised in general Terms formerly to perform, but it seems, the Ministers found not the Effect of those Promises as they desired, and therefore to the said Articles they added one, which the King took not well at their Hands, *viz.* That, in respect many Things had been promised, but few performed, that now the Manner and Time of performing should be expressed, and the Execution of every Part agreed to. This Clause seemed to reproach the King with evil treating the Church, which he laid up in his Heart.

And now the Ministers thought the Time was come, and an Opportunity presented when the Polity of the Church might be confirm'd, and the Book of Discipline be recognized, and tho' they foresaw that they would find it very difficult to bring the King and his great Men to it, so as to get it enacted in Parliament; they resolved, however, to give it all the Sanction they could: The Commission of the General Assembly therefore published an Act to 'Order and appoint, *these are the very Words*, that whosoever hath born Office in the Ministry within this Kirk, or presently bear, or hereafter shall bear Office therein, do, and shall subscribe the Heads of the Discipline of the Kirk within this Realm, at length set down and allowed by Act of the whole Assembly, in the Book of Polity, registered in the Register of the Kirk, and namely in the Heads controverted by the Enemies of the Discipline of the reformed Kirk in this Realm, and that they be charg'd to do so by every particular Presbytery where they be resident; and this, under Pain of Excommunication, to be executed against the Non-Subscribers, and the Presbyteries which shall be negligent, shall receive publick Rebuke before the whole Assembly.'

It is observ'd, however, in *History, that several Ministers in the Church shunned to subscribe, and others that did subscribe, fell off and accepted Bishopricks in the Innovations which soon after were made by the King upon the Church.

Nor was this all. But farther to prove what I have observed of the Church's being arrived to its full grown State, it is to be observed, That the Parliament being now summoned to the 29th of May 1672, the Church obtained, in that Meeting, a compleat Ratification of their Privileges and Government, and particularly of their General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries, which they had for many Years before struggled with their Princes and Governors for, but to no Purpose. The Tenor of this valuable, and indeed unexpected Act of Parliament is too long to insert at large; but the principal enacting Clause is as follows. The whole is to be found among the *Ecclt* Acts of Parliament.

Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament following the lovable and good Example of their Predecessors, have ratified and approved, and by the Tenor of this present Act, ratifies and approves all Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, and Freedoms whatsoever, given and granted by his Highness,

his Regents, in his Name, or any of his Predecessors to the true and holy Kirk,* PRESENTLY established within this Realm, and declared in the first Act of his Highness's Parliament, the 20th of October 1579, and all and whatsoever Acts of Parliament and Statutes made before by his Highness and his Regents, ament the Liberty and Freedom of the said Kirk, and especially the first Act of the Parliament of 1581, with the whole Particulars there mentioned, which shall be als sufficient as if the samine were here expressed, and all the other Acts of Parliament made † SENSINE in Favour of the true Kirk, and ‡ SICLIKE ratifies and approves the General Assemblies, appointed by the said Kirk, and declareth it shall be lawful to the Kirk and Ministers, every Year at the least, and oftner *pro re nata*, as Occasion and Necessity shall require, to hold and keep general Assemblies, providing that the King's Majesty, or his Commissioner with them, to be appointed by his Highness, be present at § ilk General Assembly, before the dissolving thereof, nominate and appoint Time and Place, when and where the next General Assembly shall be holden, and in Case neither his Majesty nor his said Commissioner be present for the Time in that Town where the said General Assembly shall be holden, then, and in that Case, it shall be || leesome to the said General Assembly, by themselves, to nominate and appoint Time and Place where the next General Assembly of the Kirk shall be kept and holden, as they have been in Use to do thir Times by past. And also ratifies and approves the Synodal, or Provincial Assemblies, to be holden by the said Kirk and Ministers, twice ilk Year, as they have been within every Province of this Realm, and also the Presbyteries and particular Sessions appointed by the said Kirk, with the whole Jurisdiction and Discipline of the same Kirk:

Agreed upon by his Majesty in Conference had by his Highness with certain of the Ministers convened to that Effect.

It was at this Time that the Assembly took that Freedom which they have been so often reproached with since, and which, they said, King James never forgave them, (*viz.*) to admonish the King. I shall give it impartially in the Words of their own Historians: 'The Assembly directed their Brethren who were appointed to present the Articles (*that is, those above mentioned*) to go immediately to his Majesty, and to admonish him gravely, in the Name of the eternal God, to have Respect in Time to the Estate of true Religion, to the many Murthers and Oppressions, daily multiplied, through Impunity and Lack of Justice, and to discharge the Kingly Office in both, as he will eschew the fearful Challenge of God, and avert his Wrath off himself and the whole Land, and that he might be the better informed, to lay down the Particulars to him, and crave Answer.'

It is true, it was a Freedom which Kings have not been much acquainted with in this Age; but the Ministers of that Age thought it their Duty, and perhaps if Ministers had since done their Duty, with the same Care and Conscience, tho' their Kings had been ill pleased, they had done better for the Publick, and for Religion also.

* Presently, *that is*, now.

† Sensine, *i. e.* Since that Time.

‡ Siclike, *i. e.* Likewise.

§ Ilk, *i. e.* Each or Every.

|| Leesome, *i. e.* Lawful.

* *Caldervood's Hist.* fol. 257.

† *Scot's Acts of Parliament*, Part 1. p. 607.

However this was done with dutiful Respect, and when the King complained of the Freedom, they, for Vindication of their own Behaviour to their Prince, caused the Assembly to pass an Act, ordaining, that 'No Minister within this Realm utter, from the Pulpit, any rash or irreverent Speeches against his Majesty, or his Council, or their Proceedings; but that all their public Admonitions proceed upon just and necessary Causes, and sufficient Warrant, in all Fear, Love, and Reverence, under Pain of deposing the Offenders.' And this most effectually clears them from the Charge of being mutinous and rebellious, and of refusing to submit to lawful Authority.

It is worth noting, for the Observation of the Curious, that this happy Parliament, wherein the Church of Scotland was thus established, and her Rights of every Kind recognized, met on that particular Day from which her Overthrow was 72 Years after dated. I mean at the Restoration, viz. the 29th of May.

The Authority of the Church being in this flourishing Estate, 'tis necessary to record, to their eternal Praise, as no doubt it is in Heaven to their eternal Comfort, how the Ministers made use of their Time, and how they applied themselves to discharge the Duty which lay upon them as a national Church. I shall single out one or two examples.

1. They appointed a Visitation of all the Presbyteries in the Kingdom, and that the Church of Scotland may be a standing Example to all the Protestant Churches in the World, I shall give the very Words of the Act of the Assembly, the Meaning and Design of this Visitation as follows: 'Forasmuch as the Visitors of Presbyteries, universally throughout the whole Realm, are thought a Thing very necessary, and from diverse Assemblies Commission hath been given for that Effect, a Necessity yet remaining, which craveth the continuing of the said Commission, the Assembly hath given Commission to certain Brethren, to visit, and try the Doctrine, Life, Conversation, Diligence, and Fidelity of the Pastors, within the said Presbyteries: And siclike to try, if there be any of the benefited Number within the same, not making Residence, having no reasonable Excuse: If there be any that have dilapidate their Benefices, set Tacks, and made other Dispositions of the same, without the Consent of the General Assembly; any slanderous Person, unmeet to serve in the Kirk of God, unable and unqualified to teach and edify: And with advice of the Presbytery, within the which the said Persons remain, to proceed against them, according to the Quality of the Offence, according to the Acts of the Kirk.'

2. The Synod of Fife being met at St. Andrews September 25. 1593, and being informed of the Threatnings, the Insolence, and the growing Power of Papists and other Enemies of the Truth, and how the Impunity in suffering these Things to go unpunished, was a great and a national Sin, moved with this and other Signs of imminent Danger, made the following Conclusion.

That the Pastors of every Congregation, being first prepared themselves, by Abstinence, Prayer, and diligent Study, and Attendance upon their Charge, travel carefully by their Doctrine and good Example to move and dispose the Hearts of their Flock to unfeigned Repentance, calling for Mercy and Preservation at the Hands of God, that thus both Pastor and People may be prepared against

that general and solemn Fast which the Synod thinketh most needful to be published throughout the Realm. The Causes whereof, beside the general Reasons for Humiliation in Time past, are as follows.

The Causes which are here referred to were summed up in many Particulars, referring chiefly to the Growth of Popery, Idolatry, Profaneness, and Immorality.

To this the said Assembly added the directing some of their Members to the King 'To tell plainly to his Majesty, *these be also their own Words*, that which all his true Subjects think, touching his too much bearing with, favouring and countenancing Papists and Traytors, his Negligence in repressing Idolatry, and establishing the Kingdom of Christ within his Realm, and to declare freely to his Majesty the Resolution of all his godly and faithful Subjects, viz. That they are ready to give their Lives, rather than to suffer the same.'

This was plain dealing, and this was what the Courtiers afterwards called disciplining of the King. But the Synod stooped not here; for they went on to excommunicate the Popish and *Spaniskly* affected Nobility, so they then called them, as Persons 'Who, by their Idolatry, Heresie, Blasphemy, Apostacy, Perjury, and professed Enmity to the Kirk and true Religion, had, *ipso facto*, cut themselves off from Christ and his Church.' This Excommunication by the Synod is registered at large in the Acts of the Church, having been afterwards approv'd by the Assembly. But the King took great Distaste at it, and from hence forward began to withdraw his Countenance, and Assistance, and Favour from the Church, as soon appeared in the Consequences; for the Church pursued the excommunicated Lords, the King protected them: The Church desired the King to give them no Access to his Person, the King openly received them at *Jedburgh*, and the like.

Upon this a Meeting, or Convention of Ministers, Commissioners of Burroughs, and Barons met at *Edinburgh*, and deputed some of their Members to wait upon the King. The King refused to admit them, and sent them Word he did not acknowledge their Convention, it being without his Advice. They insisted upon the Legality of their Meeting. At last the King yielded, and gave such Answers as he thought fit to their Advices, but with little Satisfaction, and perhaps as little Sincerity. However, the excommunicated Lords offered themselves to Tryal, and the King agreed to it, giving a Commission for that Purpose to a certain Number of the Peers and Gentlemen to try them: Their Names were as follows, (viz.) the Earls of *Huntly*, *Angus*, *Errol*, Laird of *Auchindown*, and Sir *James Chisholme*. But the King abolished the whole Process afterwards, and by his own Royal Declaration absolved them all, and that upon Conditions not at all acceptable to the General Assembly, who, being met at *Edinburgh* May 7, 1594, ratified the Excommunication against the Lords, ordered it to be pronounced in every Church in Scotland, and deputed a Committee of their Ministers to lay a Representation of the DANGERS OF THE CHURCH, (*mark it is an old Phrase*) before the King, and report his Answer. The Representation was very long, and the King's Answer particular; but in short, the King promised to forefault the excommunicated Lords; that is, to *outlaw*

them, and that the Parliament should meet according to the Time appointed: All which was made good, and the excommunicated Lords were declared guilty of High Treason, their Coats of Arms torn by the Herald, and their Estates forfeited: Upon which they broke out into open Rebellion, and thereupon followed the Battle of *Balrinness*, between the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Earls of *Huntly* and *Errol*, wherein the excommunicated Lords were defeated. But that is not to our Purpose.

Having often quoted Mr. *Calderwood's* History to the Matters of Fact here related, I shall now give the Words of that ancient and grave Historian to the Subject I am upon, confirming what I have said of the full grown State of the Church; And I do it here, because that State seem'd now to be at its Hight, and that this was the Time from whence it began sensible to decline; for now the Church fell into Difficulties and Strife, which eclips'd her Glory for many Years, from whence, however, we shall see her quickly rising again with a double Splendor. Mr. *Calderwood's* Observation is this:

'This Year is a remarkable Year to the Kirk of Scotland, both for the Beginning, and for the End of it. This Kirk was now come to the greatest Purity that ever it attained unto; so that her Beauty was admirable to Foreign Kirks. But the Devil envying the Happiness, and laudable Proceedings of the Ministry, and Assemblies of the Kirk, stirred up both Papists and Politicians to disturb her Peace. The Papists perceived there was no Rest for them in Scotland, if the Authority of the Kirk continued; the Politicians feared that their Craft and Trade, which is to use indifferently all Men and Means to attain to their own Ends, and to set themselves up, as it were, in the Throne of Christ, should be undone. Whereas at her earnest Desire, the Apostate Earls *Augus*, *Huntly*, and *Errol* were defaulted for an unnatural and treasonable Conspiracy with the *Spaniard*, and were expelled out of the Country; and she was now setting her self to reform whatsoever Abuses and Corruptions were perceived in her Members, and against the Re-entry and Restauration of the said Earls. But was forced, by Craft and Policy of Politicians, and dissembled Papists, to take her self to the Defence of her own Liberties, and of that holy Discipline, which was her Bulwark, and to desist from farther Opposition to the Re-entry of the excommunicate Earls. For some thorny Questions, in Points of Discipline, were devised, whereby her Authority was in many Points called in doubt. Ministers were called before the Council, to give account of their Rebukes in Sermons, and to under their Censure. The Ministers of the Kirk of *Edinburgh* were forced to lurk, and that Kirk, which was a Watch-Tower, and shined as a Lamp to the rest, was darkned, and no less Danger appeared to threaten the rest. In a Word, in the End of this Year began a fearful Decay, and Declining of this Kirk.'

To confirm this, we shall give a Summary, and that a very brief one, of the Transactions for the few Years next following, in which the Ministers struggled with the Defections of the Times, the refractory Disposition of their Prince, and the growing Insolence of Courtiers and Enemies, till they were crush'd, and forc'd to submit to the Pleasure of him, who thought fit, at that Time, to bring them under the Feet of their Enemies for a Season.

The next Assembly met the 25th of March 1596;

the King himself came thither; It seems it was to desire the Ministers to forward a Loan of Money, which he had designed to propose to the whole Kingdom, on the extraordinary Occasions which were then before him. The Ministers declined it, alledging, that the forfeited Estates of the Rebels were to have been applied to that Use, it being just that those who had been the Occasion of his extraordinary Expence, should contribute to defray the Charge of it.

The Ministers fell to complaining of his Conduct, his personal Sins, and the Sins of those in his Family, which it was his Duty to restrain. The King answered, if there were any gross Faults in him, or his House, he would not decline the Judgment of the Assembly, provided it was done privately. Old *Andrew Melvin* answered bluntly, *They could not justifie private Rebuke for open Offences*, and speaking to the Moderator, charged him, as he would answer it to God, that he should now do his Duty, and speak to the King plainly and freely, as was his Place to do. The King stood silent a while, and then withdrew.

This Assembly was famous for Three Things. First, for their Search into and Regulation of their own Corruptions as Ministers, extending to all the Ministers of the Church; which Regulation consists of Eight Heads, and are to be seen in the Registers of the Church. And Secondly, For that famous Humiliation and solemn renewing of the *Covenant*, which was begun in the Assembly the 30th of March 1596, and was carried on through all the Ministers of Scotland. And Thirdly, For their humble, but faithful Representation to the King of the Sins, as well of his Person and Family, as of his Council and Nobility, and the Remedies thereof, which were exhibited in Five Articles, and it must be own'd this was the last Time he had the Blessing of a faithful Ministry to advise and exhort him; and this Assembly being over, it was observed by many, that the Church never had another like it, during that King's Reign, and it is at this Period that Mr. *Calderwood* places in capital Letters these Words:

Here end the sincere General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland.

The Ministers of this Assembly went on with renewing the Covenant in all the Presbyteries, and at last in Parishes; but when it came to particular Persons, and especially to the Court, or to those who lived near the Court, viz. in *Edinburgh* in particular, they declined it, and it began gradually to drop and be omitted: What followed we shall soon see.

The excommunicate Lords were not without their Friends at Court; the King had been prevailed with to consent to their Return, but was not willing to take it upon himself for fear of embroiling himself with the Church, whom he feared as well as hated. It was concerted therefore to summon a Parliament, or Convention of Estates to meet at *Falkland*, and to get such especially to this Convention as were in the secret. At the opening the Session a Motion was made by *Alex. Seatoun* Brother to the Lord *Seatoun*, to recal the Lords; it was seconded by several others, using some Threatnings, as if it would be best to do so, lest they should join with the Enemies of their Country.

To carry on the Point, several Ministers had Notice given them to be there; but it was only such as they thought might be easiest brought to comply. But Mr. *Andrew Melvin*, a famous and

most faithful Champion of the Reformation, went unsent for. It seems he was appointed or commissioned by the last Assembly to watch against the imminent Dangers that might threaten the Church : And this was his Authority.

When the Ministers were called in, he appear'd at the Head of them : The King taking Notice of it, ask'd Who sent for him ? He answered, SIR, I have a Call to come here from Christ and his Church, who have a special Concern in what you are doing here, and in direct Opposition to whom you are all here assembled ; but he ye assured that no Council taken against him shall prosper. And I charge you, Sir, in his Name, that you or your Estates, here convened, favour not God's Enemies whom he hateth. After he had said this, and more to the like Purpose to the King, he turn'd his Speech to the Members of the Convention, and 'Challeng'd them with being assembled there with 'a traitorous Design against Christ and his Church, 'and their native Country.' And was going on when the King interrupted him, and commanded him to withdraw, which he did ; but soon let the King hear of him again upon the following Occasion.

The Commission of the last Assembly was sitting at that Time, and finding which Way Things were going, they resolved to send some of their Members to the King, to expostulate this Matter with him : Of these the same Mr. Andrew Melvin was one. When they came to the King, who received them in his Closet, Mr. James Melvin, being first in the Commission, spoke as the Mouth of the rest, and told the King their Errand from the Commission. The King took him up roundly, and charg'd the Commission with Sedition, and the Ministers with being Spreaders of seditious Reports, alarming the People with imaginary Dangers, and creating needless and unjust Fears. Mr. James being a courteous, fair spoken Man, began to answer the King with Respect, and with great Reverence, when Mr. Andrew, taking the Words out of his Mouth, says he, 'Man, 'this is not a Time to flatter, but to speak plainly ; 'for, says he, our Commission is from the mighty 'God, to whom the King is but a *silly Vassal*.' Then taking the King by the Sleeve, he tells him, Sir, we will humbly reverence your Majesty always, namely in publick ; but we have this Occasion to be with your Majesty in private, and you are brought in extream Danger, both of your Life, and of your Crown, and with you the Country and Kirk of God is like to be wracked, for not telling the Truth, and giving you a faithful Counsel : We must discharge our Duty, or else be enemies to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as diverse Times before, so now I must tell you, that there are two Kings, and two Kingdoms. There is Christ and his Kingdom the Kirk, whose Subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose Kingdom he is not a King, nor a Head, nor a Lord, but a Member ; and they, whom Christ hath called, and commanded to watch over his Kirk, and govern his spiritual Kingdom, have sufficient Authority and Power from him so to do ; which no Christian King nor Prince should control nor discharge, but fortifie and assist ; otherwise they are not faithful Subjects to Christ. Sir, when you were in your swaddling Clouts, Christ reigned freely in this Land, in Spight of all his Enemies. His Officers and Ministers convened and assembled for ruling of his Kirk, which was ever for your Welfare also, when the same Enemies were seeking your Destruction ; and have been, by their Assemblies and Meetings since, terrible to these Enemies, and most steedable for

you ; will you now, when there is more than Necessity, challenge Christ's Servants, your best and most faithful Subjects, for their conveneing, and for the Care they have of their Duty to Christ and you ; whenas you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly Kings and Emperors did. The Wisdom of your Counsel, which is devilish and pernicious, is this, that you may be served with all Sorts of Men to come to your Purpose and Grandour, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant. Because the Ministers and Protestants in Scotland are too Strong, and control the King, they must be weakened and brought low, by stirring up a Party against them, and the King being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him : So shall he be well settled. But, Sir, let God's Wisdom be the only true Wisdom, this will prove meer and mad Folly : For his Curse cannot but light upon it ; so that in seeking both, you shall lose both : Whereas in cleaving uprightly to God, his true Servants shall be your true Friends, and he shall compel the rest counterfeitley and lyingly to serve you, as he did to David.

It is easie to guess how well this pleased the King : However, tho' the King was at first very warm and angry, yet he grew calm and pleasant, protested that he had no Knowledge of the Return of the Lords, and that offer what they would, they should have no Favour from him ; till they had fully satisfied the Church. This Discourse of Mr. Melvin to the King, Mr. Calderwood says was taken out of his own Memoirs, left behind him, written with his own Hand.

The King kept ill his Promises in this Case also ; for now Dissatisfactions grew high between the King and the Ministers ; the King encroaching daily upon their Liberties, which they, by no Means, would give up, they deputed Four of their Body to the King, to represent, that there was a most dangerous Jealousie begun between him and the Church, which could not but be fatal to both, and to desire his Majesty to declare plainly what offended him, that, if possible, they might give him Satisfaction.

The King answered in few Words, 'That there 'could be no Agreement between him and them 'till the *Marches* of their Jurisdiction were ridden.' This is a *Scoticism* in Speech, alluding to the people, who used to ride annually over the Marches or Borders of both Kingdoms of England and Scotland, to settle and ascertain the Bounds, as our Parish-Officers do annually in England for the Parishes. This intimated plainly that the King resolved to put Limits to the Church's Power, and to restrain them in some of those Liberties and Privileges which they claimed as their due. When the King had given them this Hint, he gave also Four Heads of Complaint against them, in which, he said, he expected Redress.

1. That in their Preaching, they should have nothing to do to speak of the King's Affairs, or of Matters of State.
2. That the General Assembly should not meet but by the King's Authority and especial Command.
3. That he have a negative Voice in the Assembly.
4. That the Church Judicatories meddle not with Civil Matters, or with any Matter of Law.

The Ministers now began to see plainly, that the Platform was laid for the Overthrow of the Ecclesiastick Constitution : They thought it was a good

Providence to the Church that the King spoke so directly to his own Designs, and they acted with the greatest Prudence and Caution possible to take from him all Occasion of Advantage over them. They ordered therefore (1.) That all the Acts of Parliament, Acts of Council, Declarations of the King, or other Documents in Favour of the Liberties and Discipline of the Church should be search'd out, and collected. (2.) That the Presbyteries should be advertised not to enter into any Debates or Disputes upon the King's Proposal, that they might not be supposed to call in Question the undoubted Liberties and Authority of the Church. But he that has a Nail to drive, will not want a Hammer: The King had an ill Turn ready for the Church, and he let them know it on the following Occasion.

One Mr. David Black, a Minister in St. Andrews, had used some distastful Speeches in a Sermon some Months before, which having given Offence to the King and Council, they resolved to begin there, and summoned him to appear before the Council to answer the same.

Thus the King began with them, and they, on the contrary, found him Work enough; for in the first Place, they went on in their judicial Process against the two great Women, whose Cause the King had openly espoused, viz. the Lady Huntly, and the Lady Livingston. To the first they directed a Libel or Summons to answer their Charge: This was, if possible, to prevent her being received at Court, as she could not well be, while under the Process of the Church, before she had given Satisfaction. 2. They ordered the Presbytery of Sterling to proceed to Excommunication against the Lady Livingston. And as to Mr. David Black, they ordered that he should decline the Judicatory of the King and Council, or as we call it in England, plead to their Jurisdiction, and refuse to answer before them. Then they came to a Resolution in the Assembly, *nemine contradicente*, That all Judgment of Doctrine appertaineth to the Pastors of the Church is *prima instantia*: and they appointed a Committee, and farther ordered all the Ministers to search all the Warrants of Scripture, or Precedents in the Laws of the Realm, to support that Position.

It would swell these Memoirs too much, to give a Particular of all the Disputes which pass'd between the King and the Assembly of Ministers on this Occasion: They waited on him with their other Demands, and got tolerable Answers, tho' the King was highly affronted with Mr. Patrick Galloway, one of those that was sent to him, who told him, *That their Enemies got Grants and Performances; but the Church got fair Words and Promises only*. However the King, upon a new Application, promised them positively, that all they desir'd should be granted with Respect to the Popish Lords and the two Ladies abovenamed: But there was yet a Sting in the Tail, about Mr. David Black, of whom the King said he must appear and answer for himself, to satisfie the English Ambassador, who, it seems, had complained against him, and take heed, says the King, *that you decline not my Judicatory, for if you do, it will be worse than you imagine*.

Hereupon the Assembly went upon it openly, resolving not to give up their Rights, and directed Mr. Black to give in a Writing of Declinature under his Hand, which, as it is a very curious Piece, and of great Consequence in the Question, and being penn'd with much Art, as well as maintained with much Vigor, I cannot omit publishing it, as follows:

The Declinature of the King and Council's Judicature, in Matters spiritual, namely in preaching of the Word, given in to the same at *Haltrud-House*, by Mr David Black, Minister at St. Andrews, in his own Name, and in Name of his whole Brethren of the Ministry, the 18th Day of November, 1596.

UNTO your Majesty and Lords of secret Council, with all Reverence in Christ humbly meaneth, I Mr. David Black, Minister of the Evangel at St. Andrews, that where I am charged by your Highness's Letters, to compear and answer for certain unreverent, unfamous, and undecent Speeches, alledged uttered by me in some of my Sermons made in publick, in the Kirk of St. Andrews, in the Month of October last by past 1596, as at more length is contained in the said Letters: Wherein albeit the Conscience of my Innocency upholdeth me sufficiently, against whatsoever Calumnies of Men; and that I am ready by the Assistance of the Grace of my God, to give a Confession, and stand to the Defence of every Point of the Truth of my God, uttered by me in the said Sermons, either in opening up of his Word, or Application thereof, before your Majesty or Council, or whatsoever Person or Persons, that upon any lawful Cause, will crave an Account of that Hope which is in me, in whatsoever Place or Manner, so far as shall be requisite for clearing and Maintenance of the Truth, and of my Ministry, and may be done without Prejudice of that Liberty, which the Lord Jesus hath given and established in the spiritual Office-bearers of his Kingdom. Yet seeing I am at this Time brought to stand before his Majesty and Council, as a Judge set to cognosce, and discern upon my Doctrine, where through my answering to the said pretended Accusation might import, with the manifest Prejudice of the Liberties of the Kirk, an Acknowledgment of your Majesty's Jurisdiction, in Matters that are meer spiritual, which might move your Majesty to attempt farther in the spiritual Government of the House of God, to the Provocation of his hot Displeasure against your Majesty, and in End either a plain subverting of the spiritual Judicature, or at least a confounding thereof with the Civil, if at any time profane and ambitious Magistrates might by such dangerous Beginnings find the Hedge broken down to make a violent Interruption upon the Lord's Inheritance, which the Lord forbid. Therefore I am constrained, in all Humility and Submission of Mind, to use a Declinature of this Judgment, at least in *prima instantia*; which I beseech your Majesty to consider earnestly, and accept of, according to Justice, for the Reasons following.

The Lord Jesus, the God of Order, and not of Confusion, as appeareth evidently in all the Churches of the Saints, of whom only I have the Grace of my Calling, as his Ambassador, albeit most unworthy of that Honour, to bear his Name among his Saints, hath given me his Word, and no Law or Tradition of Man, as the only Instructions, whereby I should rule the whole Actions of my calling, in Preaching of the Word, Administration of the Seals thereof, and Exercise of Discipline: And in the Discharge of this Commission I cannot fall in Reverence of any Civil Law of Man, but in so far as I shall be found to have passed the Compass of my Instructions, which cannot be judged, according to the Order established by that God of Order, but by the

' Prophets, whose Lips he hath appointed to be Keepers of his heavenly Wisdom, and to whom he has subjected the Spirits of the Prophets. And now seeing it is the Preaching of the Word, whereupon I am accused, which is a principal Point of my Calling, of Necessity the Prophets must first declare, whether I have kept the Bounds of my Directions, before I come to be judged of your Majesty's Laws, for my Offence.

' Because the Liberty of the Kirk, and whole Discipline thereof, according as the same has been, and is presently, exercised within your Majesty's Realm, has been confirmed by diverse Acts of Parliament, and approved by the Confession of Faith, by the Subscription and Oath of your Majesty and Majesty's Estates, and whole Body of the Country, and peaceably enjoyed by the Officebearers of the Kirk in all Points; and namely in the foresaid Point, touching the Judgment of the preaching of the Word in *prima instantia*, as the Practice of diverse late Examples evidently will shew. Therefore the Question touching my Preaching ought first, according to the Grounds and Practice foresaid, be judged by the Ecclesiastical Senate, as the competent Judge thereof, in the first Instance.

' In Respect whereof, and for diverse other weighty Causes and Considerations, namely of eschewing the great and dangerous Inconveniences, that might fall both to Religion and to your Majesty's own Estate, by the Appearance of Distraction of your Majesty's Affection from the Ministry, and good Cause of God in their Hands, and the Grief of your Majesty's best Subjects, and to the Encouragement of the Adversaries, both of your Majesty's Estate and Religion. Therefore I most humbly beseech your Majesty, and in the Name of my Brethren the Commissioners of the General Assembly, and the Remnant of the Brethren of the Ministry, who, for testifying their earnest Affection and Allowance of the Premises, have subscribed these Presents with their Hands, that your Majesty in this Action, would manifest your earnest Care to maintain that Liberty, which the Church of Christ within the Country, for the Comfort of the Saints, hath with so great Blessing enjoyed, since the Gospel was first revealed in this Land, wherethrough the Godly may be comforted, the Adversaries frustrated of their Expectation, and your Majesty truly honoured in honouring the Lord Jesus.

The Foundation of Discontent being thus laid on both Sides, all things tended to an open Rupture between the Parties: The King at the Head of the Civil Power, and the Assembly at the Head of the Ecclesiastick, push'd at one another without any Appearance of a Reconciliation. It is, without doubt, that the King was Aggressor: He found the Severity of the Ministers a Burthen that he could by no Means bear. They said the same of his Invasions upon their Liberties. Several Proposals of Accommodation were made, and sometimes they came very near to one another; nay, at one Time the King was brought to agree to the Mediums they proposed; but the next Morning they found his Mind quite altered again, and if it be true which one of the Writers of those Times affirms, viz. That the King was resolved upon setting up Episcopacy, and had named the Bishops to every Diocess,* before Mr. Black's Declination above. It is no more to be wondered at, that tho' his Majesty

might sometimes seem to comply with them, for Delay, or for other private Reasons, yet that they always found he changed his Mind when it came to the Point to be concluded.

It would be endless to set down here the many Particulars of this Breach. Take the Sum of them thus. Upon the failing of the many Attempts to accommodate Matters, the Ministers preached openly and vehemently against the King's Proceedings, defended the Jurisdiction of the Church, and daily drew the People to them. This nettled and alarmed the King: He attempted to persuade the Commissioners of the Assembly by fair Means, to direct the Ministers not to meddle. They answered, they could not be silent, while he went on to sap the Foundations of their Liberties, and overthrow the Discipline; that it was their Duty to speak freely and plainly: When Perswasions availed not, he used Force: he charged the Commissioners of the Assembly to depart the City of *Edinburgh*, and publish'd this Charge at the Cross of *Edinburgh*: He ordered the Council to proceed against Mr. *David Black*, notwithstanding his Declination, and to condemn him of Contumacy, sentencing him to enter into Ward, upon Pain of *Rebellion* and *Horning*: His Crime was said to be, For treasonable, uncivil, slanderous, and seditious Words, Calumnies, and Speeches uttered by him against the Queen, the Queen of *England*, the Nobility, Council, and Session.

Besides this, the King refused to grant the Stipends to the *Northern* Ministers, for whom the Commissioners of the Assembly had petitioned: the King's Answer was, That such as would acknowledge his Authority, should have their Salaries; but he would give no Fee to such as would disclaim their Obedience.

Upon the Commissioners being warn'd to depart, they published an Exhortation to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, as they should answer it to God and his Church, to discharge their Duty in so necessary and dangerous a Juncture, and to call before them the open and malicious Enemies of the Church, of whatsoever Rank, and proceed against them, even to Excommunication, if they relaxed not: Likewise to the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, to stand to their Calling, and not to be slack in their Duty; with Caution however that if Violence was used; for there was a Report, that they should be pull'd out of their Pulpits by armed Men, they should give Place to the Fury, and make no Resistance; and then publishing a long Declaration, for Vindication of their Proceedings, and protesting against the Injustice that was used towards them, they departed. This was in *Decembre* 1590.

The same Month the King fell upon the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, and without any particular Accusation or Crime alledged, charg'd Four of them, viz. *Robert Bruce*, *James Balfour*, *Walter Baranquell*, and *William Watson* to enter into Ward; that is to say, to go to Prison, within Six Hours after the Proclamation, upon Pain of horning; they not doing it, Orders were sent to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, to apprehend them; but they fled to the Borders. There were also several of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* in the same Condition, being all such as were eminent for their Zeal to the true Religion. But this was not all.

For the King resolving now to carry his Game on to the uttermost, contriv'd a Writing of Recognition, which was called there the *BAND*, which all the Ministers were required to sign, on pain of losing their Stipends. The Copy of which Band or Engagement is as follows, (viz.)

* *Calderwood*, fol. 358.

The Copy of the Band, ordained by his Majesty and Estates, to be subscribed by every one of the Ministry under the Pain of losing their Stipends.

WE the Pastors and Ministers of Scotland, underscribing, humbly acknowledging our Duty to God, and Obedience to the King our Sovereign, whom for Conscience Sake we ought to obey, confess, that he is our Sovereign Judge; to us, and every one of us, in all Causes of Sedition and Treason, and other civil and criminal Matters; and to all our Speeches, which may import the said Crimes, albeit uttered by any of us publicly in Pulpit (which God forbid) or in any other Place: And that the said Pulpits, nor no other Place whatsoever, have that Privilege or Immunity, to be Occasion or Pretence to any of us of declining his Majesty's Judgment, in any of the said civil or criminal Causes intended, or to be intended against any of us, in time coming; but rather that our Offence is the greater, in Case any of us commit such Crimes in the said Pulpits (which God forbid) where the Word of God, his Truth and Salvation should be preached by us unto our Flocks. In Witness whereof, and of our humble Acknowledging of our Duty in the Premises, we have subscribed these Presents with our Hands, and are content the same be registered in the Books of our Sovereign's secret Council in *futuram rei memoriam*.

After this, for now the Mask was thrown off, a Proclamation was publish'd, by Sound of Trumpet, at the Cross of Edinburgh, empowering and requiring all Magistrates, Barons, and Gentlemen of Power, to interrupt any of the Ministers if they should utter any Speeches tending to Sedition from their Pulpits; or any Speeches, in Reproach, Contempt, or Disdain of the King, his Progenitors, or his Council, and any of their Proceedings; and to imprison and detain them till Notice should be given to the Council, and Orders from thence received about them.

To this Pass Things were come, in the Space of one Year.

The Ministers, generally speaking, refused the Band, with Abhorrence; and published their Reasons for it, with their Apologies and Defences in abundance; and some publick Meetings did the like, as the Synod of Fife in particular.

We are now come to a Meeting, called by the King a General Assembly; but not owned to be such by the Church. The King having, as is said, claimed the Right of calling the General Assembly, tho' the Church had by no Means yielded up that Point, his Majesty thought fit to act upon that Right, and summoned a Convention of Ministers at Perth, to meet the 28th of February 1597. The Ministers, who came thither, met at the King's Appointment, so there was a Violation of the Liberties of the Church, in the very Entrance; for by the Constitution the Church has the Right of calling, as well as of constituting their Assemblies. But this was not all; for as the Assembly was called by the King, so were the Members nominated chiefly by him, and especially the Northern Ministers, who appeared in an unusual Number; and yet as it was they were for some time doubtful, whether to have it called an Assembly or not: Old James Melvin denied it to be an Assembly; but the Northern Men outvoted them, the King also joining his Authority: However, eight Presbyteries entirely opposed it, eleven, on the other Hand, approving it: The Commissioners of the Presbytery of Fife

made a Protestation against it, and against all that should be done in it.

Two Things the King attempted here upon them, yet neither succeeded thoroughly. First, the King, on Pretence of conferring with them on some Affairs of Moment, appoints them to meet, in the same Place, with the King and his Estates. This was a Wyle, to bring them to have sitten as it were in Parliament; but the sound Ministers saw it, and protested against it. Next the King would have entered into Discourse of the Point in Controversie, but the same Ministers refused to put any of the Heads of their Discipline in Question; neither would they reason or speak upon them at all. The King press'd it, but to no Purpose: The King tried them again, and they came to the Place, but would enter upon no Business there; but made a long Protestation against whatever should be done in that Meeting, as not being lawfully constituted.

Having thus denied the Legality of this Assembly, and refused to act, the King was left to go on as he liked; nor are the Things done, said to be rightly recorded, or any Dependence to be had upon them. But in a Word, the King went on his own Way, and brought his Ends about by such arbitrary Methods, and yet by a specious Pretence of legal Steps, as may easily be imagin'd. He exhibited 13 Articles to them, every one of which was a Violation of their former Discipline; the Consequence of this was bringing in the excommunicated Lords, and at length setting up Episcopacy in the Church.

In the mean Time, the legal Assembly had been appointed to meet at Aberdeen, on the 27th of April 1597, and the Moderator of the former Assembly went thither accordingly; and tho' the Number was not great, yet they met in Form, constituted themselves regularly, and having begun the Assembly with Prayer, as usual, and appointed a Fast for Confession of Sins, they made Protestations for the Liberty of the Church, and referr'd all other Business to the next Meeting. This is the Assembly which the King disowned.

The King, in the mean Time, went on the other Way, and appoints another Assembly of his new Model, to meet at Dundee, in the Month of May after. Thus the Church was miserably divided, and her Discipline trodden under Foot: At this Assembly the King, as it is said, aimed at Two Things, viz. (1.) Bringing in the excommunicated Lords. And (2.) acknowledging the Meeting at Perth for a legal Assembly of the Church; both which the King, who had, by this Time, wheedled off, or brought off many of the poorer of the Ministry to his Party, easily obtained; some complying for Preferment, some for the Honour, and some the Profits of the Court; for it was an easie Matter, says the Historian of that Time, Mr. Calderwood, to draw such as thirsted for Gain and Glory, to farther the Intentions of the Court. Thus a dreadful Schism was made in the Church, which also became wider every Day. The Assembly of Dundee absolved the Popish Lords; gave up the Liberty of Rebuking the Crimes of the great ones; committed Matters of the greatest Import to a few, and those such as appeared devoted to the Court; quitted summary Excommunication, tho' for notorious Crimes; abolished all Meetings of Ministers, not warranted by the King, or forbidden; and all ecclesiastick Matters to be treated of in the Assembly, were, by this Model, to be first prepared and determined of by the King: So, says the same Writer, the Assembly was now no more than the

King's LED HORSE; and all this was brought to pass by a subtle dividing the Ministers, and awing or enticing some from the rest; who, back'd and supported by the King, and joined with the Creatures of the Court, carried on his Designs to the Ruin of all true Religion.

And now came on the grand Design; for the King having gained a Number of *false Brethren* (a remarkable Word) he had every Thing done to his Hand. The Parliament being sitting, the Commissioners of the General Assembly petition, in the Name of the Church, *tho' falsely; for the main Body of the Church abhorred the Thought of such a Thing*, for Ministers to be allowed to sit and vote in Parliament. This was granted, and pass'd into an Act, and the very Words of the Act openly declared the Meaning of the Thing, (*viz.*) That those Ministers who should vote in Parliament should be Bishops, or Prelates. The Words are these: That such Pastors and Ministers as his Majesty shall, at any Time, please to provide to the Office, Place, Title, and Dignity of *Bishop, Abbot, or other Prelate*, shall at any Time hereafter, have Vote in Parliament, as by the *Act may be seen at large, This was in December 1697.

On the 7th of March 1698, another Royal Assembly, for such it was, *not an Assembly of the Church*, met at Dundee, of which I need say no more than this, that by the same Art and Management that the rest was carried on, the Act of Parliament, for Ministers to vote in Parliament, was approved, in the said Assembly, with all the Formality and Pretence of Good to the Church imaginable.

The Glory of the purest Church in the World, *I use the King's own Words*, being thus under an almost total Eclipse, was strangely represented that same Year in the Firmament, the most glorious Lamp of Heaven, the SUN, suffering at this Time, a most fearful Eclipse, *so the Historians of that Day call it*, the whole Face of the Sun being covered and darkened; but it pleased God to put them in mind by it, that altho' it was of a long Duration, *viz.* near Two Hours before it went quite off, yet the Sun recovered again its full Lustre. And thus the Church of Scotland likewise has since done after many dreadful Eclipses and Hours of Darkness.

The next Year finish'd the Work: The giving the Ministers a Vote in Parliament had been already past; the King summoned a Number of Ministers to a Conference at *Halyswood-House*, where he thought fit to have some of the best Sort called; but took Care to secure a Majority of his own Party: Here, for Formality Sake, those Things were debated and resolved, which the King before had resolved, without debating: The Questions were not, if the giving the Ministers Votes should be confirmed; that was past and over before; but *how many* their Number should be, who should *chuse them*, and *what Title* they should have? Where, finally, their Number, and the Choice of them, was left to the King; and it was ordered that they should have the Title of BISHOP. And thus this long contriv'd Design obtained its finishing Stroke, and Episcopacy was established in, or rather upon the Ruins of, the Church of Scotland.

I have been more particular in this Part, as it relates to the Manner how Episcopacy got its first footing in the Church of Scotland; that the Fraud, the Artifice, and hypocritical Fawnings, the arbitrary and outrageous Dealings, which were practised with the Ministers, might appear; as also the

Strugglings and Opposition it met with for so many Years. The next succeeding Years will require little to be said: The King had gain'd his Point; the Gradations, by which Episcopacy proceeded, as it ever did in Scotland, from Power to Persecution, and at length to its own Ruin and Downfall; as they were publick, so our Account shall be more concise and general.

The Time drew near now that the King was to receive an Addition of Glory, and be called to a Kingdom infinitely more opulent, populous, and powerful than his own; and withal, wrapt up in that Ecclesiastick Hierarchy which he so much desir'd; in the mean Time, he spent the Hours in daily Contests with the Presbyterian Ministers, *for the other are not now to be called so*, oppressing, imprisoning, removing, banishing; so that no sooner was he become a King of an Episcopal Church, but, as was always natural to the Spirit of Episcopacy in Scotland, he became a Persecutor; nay, a Persecutor of that very Church, which, as before is observed, he had, in the Face of the Assembly, with Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, solemnly praised and blessed God for being born in, and made King of; calling it, *alas! with what Hypocrisy!* the purest, the sincerest Church on Earth.

This was the Time when the King writ that flattering Letter to the Pope, stiling him, in the Beginning, *Beatissime Pater Pontificem maximum*, and the like; which, to escape the Censure of, he caused, many Years afterwards, the Reproach of to be laid upon another Person, who, it was pretended, deceived the King; and having privately penn'd the Letter, got the King to sign it in a Crowd of other Writings which were to pass the Sign-Manual, and which the King signed of Course, without reading; but if other Authors may be believ'd, the King, who, was not so hurried with Business, while King of Scotland, but that, in other Cases, he was quick sighted enough, and used not to let the smallest Matter pass unobserved, was not to be thus deceived.

This was the Time when Mr. John Spotswood, who was prosecuted even by the King's Friends in the Church, for having been at MASS openly in France, was protected by the King from their Censure, and afterwards made Archbishop of St. Andrews; the same who writ the History afterwards of these Times, and is so often quoted in these Memoirs.

On the 31st of March 1603, an Express arrived from England, bringing News of the Death of Queen Elizabeth, with Letters of Recognition from the Privy-Council there, who had proclaimed his Majesty King of England and Ireland. As the King read the Letters, his Countenance chang'd; the Lords near-hand feared he had been taken ill, when, on a sudden, he left off reading, and lift up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, as tho' he had prayed; and giving the Letter to one of the Lords that stood next him, said, *The Queen's dead: Read that Letter, Man.*

Immediately the Lords congratulated him, and the Court rung with Joy; the Guns at the Castle were fired, and the King was proclaimed at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c.

The next Sabbath, being the 3d of April, the King made the following Speech to the People, in the great Church, which, I observe, because he scarce ever performed one Word of it at all.

As God hath promov'd me to a greater Power, than I had; so I must endeavour to establish Re-

* Acts of Parliament for Scotland, Part I. page 177.

ligion, and to take away Corruption, in both the Countries. Ye need not doubt, but as I have a Body as able as any King in *Europe*, whereby I am able to travel; so I shall visit you every Three Years at least, or often as I shall have Occasion; (for so have I written in my Book directed to my Son, and it were a Shame to me not to perform that, which I have written) that I may with my own Mouth, take Account of the Execution of Justice of them that are under me; and that ye your selves may see and hear me, and from the meanest to the greatest have Access to my Person, and pour out your Complaints in my Bosom. This shall ever be my Course.

The Triumphs of this new Accession of Power to the King, his Passage into *England*, his Reception there, his Coronation, and other Ceremonies, are no Part of this Work; I shall say only this of them, that they, together with the *English* Business, almost took the King wholly off of *Scots* Affairs for the first two or three Years of his Reign, and he did little but confirm and establish his new Fabrick in the Church.

In this Condition Things stood with the Church almost all the rest of the Reign of King *James*, the Authority of the Church Judicatories was wholly lost, their Discipline destroyed, and the Government dissolved into a prelatick Hierarchy.

It is true, the King being absent, and embarrassed with the *English* Affairs, they did not push on the designed Persecution so far, or so fast, as, its very likely, he would otherwise have done; but still the Council continued daily to invade the Privileges of the Church, and by Encroachments of one Kind or other, went on to oppress them; and upon every Step the Ministers took, to assert their Right, or defend their Privileges, they were proceeded against by the Council as Criminals; and once no less than Six of the Ministers were tried for high Treason, and condemned to Death, for declining the Judicature of the Council, and continuing to assemble at *Aberdeen*, without the King's Authority; but the King would not suffer them to be executed: What he did with them we shall see presently. First, a Proclamation was published, forbidding all People, either in publick or private, to call in Question his Majesty's Proceedings against the said Ministers. Then the Cause slept a while, the Parliament being to meet. This was the Year 1606, when the Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, but was adjourned to *Perth*; in which the Act was pass'd, entituled, *The Act for Restitution of Bishops*, by which the Temporalities of the old Bishopricks were likewise restored to the Church, having before been given to the Crown by a Law called the **Act of Annexation*.

The first Thing of Note which happened after the King's Accession to the Crown of *England*, and the last Thing of this Nature which we shall bring into these Memoirs was, That memorable Conference at *Hampton-Court*, between the eight Ministers of the Presbyterian Church and the King, upon the Matters then in Dispute. The Case in short was this, the Presbyterian Ministers had met in an Assembly, as was already noted, at *Aberdeen*, without the King's Authority, as they insisted they might legally do; the King discharg'd or dissolv'd their Meeting as illegal, but they continued to meet for all that: And when some of them were delated, or indicted, as we call it, before the Court of Justice for that Contempt, they de-

clined the Authority of the King, that is to say, his Authority to take Cognizance of those Affairs; for they never disputed his Authority in Civil Matters: For this they were again indicted, brought to Trial, found guilty of high Treason, and received Sentence of Death, as above.

But the King finding, that this pushing Things to Extremity would not fully answer his End, and willing rather to proceed by other Methods, concluded at length to have the Cause brought to *London*, where it should be publickly heard before himself and the Council, not doubting but it should be so managed there, as that he should either really have the Victory, or at least seem to have it; hereupon making shew to desire an Agreement, he (the King) caused a certain Number of the *Scots* Ministers on both Sides, to be summoned to appear before him at *London*. Their Names were as follow, (viz.)

Of the Episcopal Party.		Of the Presbytery Part.	
The Arch- bp. of	St. Andrews,	Mr. Andrew Melvil,	
		Mr. James Melvil,	
The Bp. of	Glasgow,	Mr. James Balgoun,	
	Orkney,	Mr. William Watson,	
	Galloway,	Mr. John Carmichael,	
	Dunkeld.	Mr. Adam Coult,	
		Mr. William Scot.	

And as this was a most eminent Transaction, by which the Craft, Drift, and Weakness in Argument, in the *Scots* Episcopal Party, and the Capacity, Fidelity, and Courage of the Ministers, were more than ordinarily conspicuous; and that it is necessary the Reader should have it faithfully and fully stated; I say, for this Reason, I shall impartially relate the Fact, as it is set down in the Histories of those Times, taking one Historian on one Side, and one of the other, that the impartial Reader may judge for himself, without any Gloss or Comment on our Side, and the Conduct of both Sides may be clearly seen. And because some may think the reciting this Story, however memorable and worth their Reading, too long an Interruption to the Thread of Story, and yet that those, whose Curiosity is worth obliging, may not be disappointed; and above all, that the Truth of Fact may impartially be handed down to Posterity, that they may have a true Notion, and be able to make a right Judgment of so remarkable an Event, I have placed it at large, among other Things, by way of *addenda* to, and at the End of this second Part of the Work, where it may be read by it self, No. C, D.

After that Conference, as it was called, was over, and the King had found that neither, by Perawasion, nor Threatning, any thing was to be done with them, so as to get the Power, he had assumed, confirmed by them, or the Proceedings against their Brethren approved; he dismissed them, and went to work with the Ministers who were under Sentence: He found it not for his Purpose to put them to Death; he knew too well what a Flame it would kindle in *Scotland*: However, to put as great a Show of Resentment upon it as he thought might answer his End, he appointed a Court of Justice to sit at *Lithgow*, where the six condemned Ministers were brought, to receive their Sentence, which the King was pleased to change from that of Death into that of Banishment, never to return, on Pain of Death. Their Names were as follows:

Mr. John Forbes, Minister of *Ausford*.
Mr. John Welch, Minister of *Aire*.
Mr. Robert Dury, Minister of *Auster*.

* Act of *Scots* Parliament, Part i. pag. 759.

Mr. Andrew Duncan, Minister of Creil.
 Mr. Alex. Straughan, Minister of Creich.
 Mr. John Sharp, Minister of Kilmory.

Besides these, by a Letter from the King, directed to the Council, eight Ministers more were confined for their Lives, or during the King's Pleasure, in the most distant, and most remote and barbarous Places of his Kingdom, viz.

Mr. Charles Farum, in the Isle of Bute.
 Mr. John Monroe, in Kintyre.
 Mr. Robert Youngson, in the Isle of Arran.
 Mr. James Irwyn, in the Isle of Orkney.
 Mr. William Forbess, in the Isle of Shetland.
 Mr. John Ross, in the Isle of Lewis.
 Mr. James Gray, in Caithness.
 Mr. Nath. Inglis, in Sutherland.

These Ministers thus sent into Banishment, were also commanded not to come out of the Bounds of their Confinement, upon Pain of Death; and by another Proclamation, all other Ministers were forbidden to recommend, in their Prayers or Sermons, any of those so sentenc'd: This was esteemed a greater Cruelty than the rest; likewise the Ministers at Court, were forbidden to go back to Scotland, and one of them, viz. Mr. Andrew Melvin was taken up, on Pretence of Words spoken in London, and some Latin Verses made by him, reflecting on the Cathedral-Worship in England, and was sent to the Tower, and kept there Three Years, after which he was banished into France, where he ended his Days.

But Things ended not here; for the King being not able to get his Will of the Ministers by the Violences above; continued, notwithstanding, to make Innovations in their Discipline and Government, and therefore in the Assembly held at Linlithgow, December 10. 1606, he brought in the Overture of constant Moderators in the Presbyteries, and the Ministers of the Assembly being always a Majority of the wrong Side, after a few had opposed it, agreed to admit them upon some Conditions, tho' they could never bring the Presbyteries to accept of them.

But now came on a Blow which even the Ministers themselves did not foresee, I mean the Five Articles concerning Worship, called afterwards the Articles of Perth. The Constitution of the Church consists, as it is politically understood of 4 principal Heads, viz. (1.) Her Doctrine. (2.) Her Worship. (3.) Her Discipline. And, (4.) Her Government. The two last were effectually reduc'd, and the King had his Will of them, as you have heard; her Doctrine and Worship seemed still to remain. But now the King began to attack their Worship, being resolved to bring the Church's Neck under the Feet of her Enemies.

It was the Year 1617, when the King took his Journey into Scotland, and where it was expected, by his Presence, he should carry every Point; but he failed in several. And first, at the Meeting of the Parliament he proposed an Article, importing, 'That whatever was resolved or concluded, by his Majesty, with Advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, in Matters of external Polity in the Church, should have the Force of an Ecclesiastick Law.' This was a bold Stroke, even the Bishops themselves startled at it at first, and the Ministers signed a general Protestation against it, which the King coming to the Knowledge of, the Article was dropped, and so the Protestation was not delivered in; but the King resolved to exercise the Power without the Ceremony of an Act, as we shall see presently.

The King summoned the Bishops to meet him at St. Andrews, where, in a set Speech to them, he proposed what he after obtained; the Bishops referred him to an Assembly; but the King, who owned that he resolved never to have any more Assemblies, was very averse to an Assembly, and it was now evident that the Reason why the King had proposed formerly the Article above-named was, that the Power of making Ecclesiastick Laws being vested in himself, he might have no more Occasion for Assemblies, which even, tho' Episcopal, were very much his Aversion.

However, in short, upon the Entreaty of the Bishops, and Promises of Compliance in some Time-serving Ministers, the King called an Assembly to meet at Perth, the 26th of August 1617. There had been one held at St. Andrews the November before, which disgusted the King very much in not complying with his Demands.

In this Assembly the Worship, as well as the Discipline was innovated, and the Conclusions were pass'd in the following Heads, afterwards called, as above, the 5 Articles of Perth. The Articles at large are to be found in the *Historist of those Times; but in short, they contained, (1.) The Kneeling at the Communion. (2.) Private Communion at sick Peoples Request. (3.) Private Baptism. (4.) Confirmation of Children. (5.) Observation of Festivals. All which was now to be imposed upon the Church of Scotland.

When the Articles were past, Order was sent to all the Ministers to intimate them in their Churches, to exhort the People to conform to them, and to preach upon the Lawfulness of it. But this it was never in their Power to do, nor, where Ministers did conform, was it in their Power to make the People comply with, or hear them; but a dreadful Rent being thus made in the Church, the People divided from the Ministers, and the dissenting Ministers set up private Communions, and were almost universally followed, as will appear presently.

But to return to the Affair of the Ministers in England, the Scots Ministers behaved with such Courage and such Steadiness, that the Court could get no Ground of them; but was forc'd to have Recourse to Coercion and Persecution in Scotland, and in England also: The Six Ministers, instead of being disputed with, were imprisoned, and long harrass'd from Place to Place; so that some of them never saw Scotland more. If I enter not far into the Particulars of those Times, it is because I would not record some Things practis'd upon them by some of the Clergy in England, which it may not be grateful to Posterity to hear; for it is not the Conduct in England, but the Conduct in Scotland that these Memoirs are written about.

The Sum of the Matter is this, in few Words; the King having mis'd of his Triumph, and of reducing the Ministers to a Necessity of submitting, resolved however not to miss of his Design in Scotland, and to this End he established a high Commission-Court there, to enforce the Articles of Perth, and in a Word, to abolish the Constitution of the Church of Scotland.

First, instead of the General Assembly, the King, by his Special Warrant, summoned a Convention, not of the Estates, but of Ministers, to meet at Linlithgo, the 10th of December 1606; instead of the Presbyteries electing the Ministers, as was

* Spotswood, Hist. of the Church of Scot. fol. 539.
 † Calderwood, fol. 611.

usual, to represent them, the King's Letter was sent, directed to the Presbyteries, ordering them to send such Men, by Name, as the King had directed. Let any *Englishman* conceive of this, as if the King of *England* were to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, and instead of issuing out Writs, for Elections of Members, should name the Members whom they should send up. This was the Method in *Scotland*, and with the same Justice; and because this is a Novelty that never was practised before or since, I have given the Copy of the Warrant, for thus sending up of Ministers, at the End of this Part, No. D.

In this Meeting the Project of constant Moderators in the Presbyteries was proposed, it is called the King's Advice to the Assembly; but any one may guess what the Meaning of such a Phrase must be; when King's advise, especially to their own Subjects, they will not take it ill if their People take it for a Command, and so it prov'd; for the Act pass without Opposition.

Great Arts were used, and some Violence, to bring the Presbyteries to accept these constant Moderators, nor could all the Threatnings and Violence that was practised, bring them to it. The Presbytery of *Edinburgh* was told plainly, that if the Presbyteries refused them, the King would overthrow the Presbyteries themselves, and there should be no more in *Scotland*; but all would not do: They named a Moderator *pro interim*, to continue to the next General Assembly, and would do nootherwise; and the like did other Presbyteries also.

At length the Presbyteries were charg'd, in the King's Name, and on Pain of Rebellion, and putting them to the Horn, to accept them: This prevail'd with some, but many stood out, and some of the Moderators themselves refused to accept. Not one of the Synods in *Scotland* would accept them, except *Angus*; no Threats, no Cunning, for neither were wanting, could bring them to it.

By this Time the Court found that all the Arts hitherto used, for subverting the Church, however they might establish a new Constitution, would never bring the Ministers to comply, till they came to downright Persecution; and therefore it was resolved to take that Course by a high Commission-Court, in the Pursuit of whose Powers, the Ministers were to be brought by Violence, by Persecution, Horning, that is to say, Banishment and Confiscation of Goods, to abandon their Flocks, and lay down the Office of Ministers.

It was in the Year 1616, that the Commission-Courts were first erected, viz. one in each Archbishoprick. This Commission was the highest Exercise of Tyranny that was ever practised by any King in *Great Britain* since Laws and Constitutions were allowed to be the Rule of the Government; for it actually put the King in Possession of the Bodies and Goods of all his Subjects, and empowered him to use them as he pleased; without the ordinary Forms of Justice, and meerly by the Agency of the Clergy making the Bishops the Instruments of absolute Power, not only to ruin and destroy the Liberties of the Church, but even of the whole Country, Clergy or Laity. The Copy of this famous Commission is among the *Addenda*, at the End of this Part, No. E.

How they exercised this unlimited Authority, the Histories of those Times are Witnesses, in which whoever pleases to look, will find the Episcopal Clergy were not backward to merit the general Reproach cast upon Priests of all Religions.

* *Culderwood*, fol. 550.

There is scarce any kind of Cruelty, Injustice, and Oppression to be named in the World, which was not practised in the Consequence of this Commission, upon the Ministers of the Church; present Death, Racks, and Tortures excepted.

The Ministers were beset with Spies, to observe their Words, Gestures, and their Expressions in their Prayers and Sermons, in order to observe if they offered to speak against the new Constitutions. They were delayed or prosecuted before this Court upon so many Accounts, that it was scarce possible to avoid it; such as speaking against the Bishops, disliking the Canon reproving Wickedness, Vices, and Immoralities, alledging they pointed at the dignified Clergy.

They were delayed in general upon the 5 Articles of *Perth*, upon Points of Doctrine, the Supremacy of the King over the Church, owning or disowning the General Assemblies, and the like.

In their appearing at their Courts, they were insulted, brow-beaten, and maltreated by the Bishops, neither treated as Gentlemen, as Scholars, or as Ministers of the Gospel. The Bishop of *St. Andrews* in particular told them, at one of his Meetings, that he should proceed to sentence as he was directed, wherein he should have no Regard to Wives, Children, or Estate, which he effectually made good; and indeed the King's Order or Letter gave them express Encouragement to such Cruelty. It seems the Court thought them too relax and slow in their Proceedings, which, if our Histories are true, there was little Reason for. But after the first Commission had tyranniz'd about Three Years, and the Business seemed a little to rest, it was, on a sudden, renewed again, *Anno* 1619; and in *November* after the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, sitting in Judgment upon some of the Ministers, pull'd out the King's Letter, written from *England*, dated the 23d of *November* 1619, animating them to all possible Severity against the Ministers that would not comply. This most merciful Letter being under the King's own Hand, and upon such an extraordinary Style, cannot be omitted, without leaving this Account imperfect: The Words, so far as relate to the present Case, are as follows, (viz.)

I command you, as you will be answerable to me, that you depose all that refuse to conform, without respect of Persons, no ways regarding the Multitude of the Rebellious; for that, if there be wanting Numbers to fill their Places, I will send you Ministers out of *England*; and I charge you to certify us of your Proceedings, betwixt this and the 3d of *March* next to come.

As the Bishops wanted no spurring to a Work they so much delighted in, so they fail'd not to proceed, in consequence of this Letter, with the utmost Rigour; the Ministers were every where cited, and upon their refusing to conform, were deprived, imprisoned, put to the Horn; their Goods plunder'd, many of them banished to the Islands, and the like: In their Examinations, they were used with all possible Indignity and Contempt; and in their Imprisonments, with Rigour and Cruelty.

The Laity were also fallen upon for not kneeling at the Communion, according to the Article of *Perth*, and at one Time six of the Citizens of *Edinburgh* were ordered to Banishment, from their Houses, Trades, and Families, without Trial, Citation, or Form of Process, on Pretence that they had countenanced the Ministers in their Disobedience.

I might fill this Volume with the History of these Violences, and enlarge, with great Advantage, on the unprecedented Proceedings of this tyrannical

Court of Bishops: It would also be very diverting, as well as profitable, to record here the Conduct of the suffering Ministers and People, how stoutly they stood, in Defence of their Principles; how boldly they disputed, and often baffled and put to Shame the Bishops, especially of *St. Andrews* and of *Glasgow*, in the Arguments they used with them; as particularly *Mr. Tho. Hog*, Minister of *Dysert*, to the Bp. of *Glasgow* and *Doctor Lindsay*, about the Differences between Capping and Kneeling at the Sacrament: The Bishop, it seems, would have proved that Capping, or pulling off the Hat, and kneeling, were synonymous; that they were not *diversæ species gestus*, but that they who did the first, could not refuse the last, in which *Mr. Hog* silenc'd them both, and brought the Bishop to say, *It is long since I learnt my Logicks*, &c. *Mr. Hog* answered, 'There is no Difficulty here to any that are desirous to learn the sacred Truths of the Gospel: Capping, in religious Exercises, is an outward Act of Veneration or Reverence only, and this we do at the Sacrament; because none can deny but that Reverence is due to the Celebration of that solemn Ordinance. But Kneeling, in religious Exercises, is an Act of Adoration or Worship, which is proper to God only, and therefore Exception is taken at it in the Sacrament, least we seem to worship the Elements which we receive.'

This was so plain that the Bishop could make no Reply, and so broke off the Discourse; many such Accounts, I say, might be given, both profitable and diverting, but the short Compass of these Memoirs admits not to enter into those things; it may suffice to note, that they got as little Ground by their Violence, as they did by their Disputations; and after all they could do in this one Article of kneeling, tho' the King sent down his Letter also, strictly commanding all to kneel, yet at the Communion published in *Edinburgh*, for Trial of the Effect of this Command, out of Sixteen Hundred Communicants in the College-Church there, they could make but Twenty receive kneeling, and the next Day but seven, and these few were either of the Families of the complying Episcopal-Clergy, who administred, or the Poor Alms-People, who durst not refuse; yet they publish'd in *England* that the People generally complied with the King's Command, and that only a few obstinate Presbyterian Ministers stood out, a Practice we see reviv'd even lately while we were told mighty Stories of the Willingness of the People in *Scotland* in *Queen Ann's* Time, to receive the *English* Liturgy in *Scotland*, and how desirous they were to have it set up there; whereas it since appears that it has not been received any where, except where the Tyranny of their Lairds and Superiors imposed it, and that as soon as that imposing ceased, by the subduing the Rebellion under the Reign of his present Majesty, we hear no more of it.

The last publick Step to the confirming all this Wreck of the Church, was the getting the Five Articles of *Perth* established by the Sanction of an Act of Parliament, and so giving them the Force of a Law; for till then they acted merely upon the Mandate and personal Authority of the King.

The Solemnity of this Transaction was extraordinary, the Parliament met the 25th of July 1621, the Ministers were carefully fenc'd against, that none should get into the House, to protest against it; for they knew they had a Protestation ready to deliver: *Mr. David Barclay*, one of the Ministers, who resolved to present the Protestation, got into the House to the Second Bar, but was discovered and put out again, and at last contented himself to

read it at the Door, and stick it up against the Wall.

However, there was great Opposition to this Act, even in the Parliament it self, but the King, by Management of the Members, and by the Assistance of the Bishops, got a Majority to vote it; yet a great many, both Lords and Commons opposed it. Among the first, the Lords *Rothess*, *Mentrick*, *Eglintoun*, *Lindithgow*, *Kintail*, *Gray*, *Ross*, *Yester*, *Cathcart*, *Couper*, *Burlic*, *Balmerinock*, *Elphinstoun*, *Torphickien*, and *Forbes*, all publicly voted against it. The Earls of *Mortoun*, *Buchan*, and the Marquess of *Lauderdale* staid without the Door, because they would not vote for it; and of the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, Forty Four voted against it, besides nine Lords and Six and Twenty Commissioners that cared not to appear on one Side or other, and came not near the Parliament.

However, notwithstanding all that could be done, the Articles were voted, the Act pass'd, and was published with Sound of Trumpet at the Cross of *Edinburgh* the 20th of August 1621.

It is recorded by several Historians of those Times, that when this Act, for confirming the Articles of *Perth*, had been voted, and pass'd, and was presented for the ROYAL ASSENT, which is signified there by touching it with the Sceptre, the Moment the high Commissioner, the Lord *Scorne*, stood up to touch this Act, Heaven declared its ROYAL DISSENT, in a most remarkable manner; for Three Flashes of Lightning, one immediately after the other, darted in at the great Window, and strook directly in the Commissioner's Face: He confess'd afterwards he felt the Warmth of the Fire on his Face; the last Flash was more frightful than the two first; and they were rendered the more visible by an exceeding dark Cloud, which, for some Minutes before, hung directly over the City: The Thunder, which followed, and broke upon the City, and as it were more immediately on the Parliament-House, was very terrible, especially the Third Clap of Thunder, immediately after the Lightning: The Darkness, occasioned by the said Cloud, increas'd to such a Degree, that it became frightful, and the whole was followed by so violent and so heavy a Rain, that the like had not been known in the Memory of Man; and the Lords and Members of Parliament, altho' their Business was finished, and the House broke up, were kept Prisoners by the Fury of the Rain for above an Hour; and so long it continued, that when they did go away, every one shifted home as they could; so that this Act could not have the Honour of a Procession, and to have the Regalia carried before it, as was usual on like Occasions. The Day got the Name of black *Saturday*, upon this Account, as well as on the Occasion of the black Work they had been about.

Nothing but a dark Prospect of Persecution, and a Cloud, threatening Desolation to the Church, now appear'd; the Prisons were fill'd with depriv'd Ministers, and the remote Parts with the Banished, and the King's Letters came every Post pressing to more and more Severities; nay, the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* were threatn'd, in express Terms, by the King with being deposed, and the City of *Edinburgh* was threatn'd with having the Session, or Term for sitting of the Courts of Justice, removed from them to *Lindithgo*, because they were not careful to do their Duty, in pursuing the Ministers, and preventing private Conventicles; for the depriv'd Ministers preach'd in their own Houses, and Multitudes left the Churches, and flock'd to hear them.

But the Hand of Heaven interposed in the very

Extremity, and by a surprizing Event put an End for the present to the Fury of those People; for just as the Prosecution of Mr. William Rigg, John Hamilton, John Meen, and several other suffering Ministers was come to the Extremity, and they were at the Point of being sent into Banishment, an Express from London brought the News that the King was DEAD.

By this one Blow the high Commission was dissolved of course, all Proceedings depending before them dropp'd, and Abundance of good Men were, for the present, delivered from the Oppressions of the Bishops.

But the King being succeeded by his Son King Charles I, who was no less zealous than his Father in the Episcopal Part of Church-Affairs, the Church of Scotland got no other Advantage by the Change than the Stop above mentioned, which, by that extraordinary Incident of the Death of King James, was put to the Persecution of the Ministers, as above.

On the contrary, the Episcopal Model received all possible Encouragement, as may be guest by Archbishop Spotswood being made Lord Chancellor of Scotland, till the unexpected Folly and Madness of the Court-Party unravelled all their own Work, and the Church rose again upon the Ruin of her Enemies.

Nay, such was the signal working of divine Providence, as has been seen more than once in the Case of the Church of Scotland, that the Oppressions and Persecutions of this Church were made the Means of overturning, not the Bishops only, who were the more immediate Persecutors, but even the King himself, and all his Family, as will eminently appear in the Process of the Story.

The King died March 27th, 1625, the first Year of his Son's Reign appeared entangled so many ways, that he became less intent, for some Time, upon the Affairs of Scotland, than his Father had been: He was left entangled in a War with Spain, and entred afterwards rashly and inconsiderately into another with France; in both which his People were uneasy, and his Generals unfortunate.

The Mismanagement of the War, the indirect Methods taken by the Court for raising Money, and the ill Usage of those, who, upon Principles of the Peoples Liberties, opposed it, made the Parliament fall upon his Favorite the Duke of Buckingham, refuse Subsidies, and insist warmly on Redress of Grievances. These put the King so out of Love with Parliaments in England, that no Parliament was afterwards called in Fourteen Years; during which, so many illegal and arbitrary Things were done, that when the King was afterwards driven, by Necessity, to call a Parliament, they carried their Resentment at these illegal Practices to such a height as drove both Parties to Arms, and ended in the Overthrow, first of the Episcopal People in Scotland, where the Flame first broke out. Secondly, of the whole Establishment of the Church of England in England. And lastly, in the Ruin of the King, and of the Royal Family.

This short Digression to the English Affairs should not have been made, for I have carefully avoided suffering these Memoirs to pass the Tweed, except on extraordinary Occasions, had it not been to reconcile the History of Facts, and explain what is said above, (viz.) that the Flame of the War in England began first in Scotland.

During the long interval of Parliament in England, the King had Leisure to apply himself to the Affairs in Scotland, and being resolved to play Rehoboom's Part, he met with Rehoboom's Fate: His

Father had, as is said above, imposed Episcopacy upon Scotland, and a long Series of Time had accustomed too many of the People to it, or an Indifferency about it; so that it was thought had the King sat still, he might, in Time, have reduced the Nation at last to have been contented with it. But far from this, he not only was not content with putting Hardships upon the Presbyterian Ministers, but prompted by an evil Fate, he fell upon a Thing which, even the Episcopal People in Scotland, could not bear; this was imposing the English Liturgy upon the Scots. This was not only the most rash and impolitick Part in the Court, but it was the most unkind and ungrateful Part to his Friends in Scotland; for now the Episcopal Party themselves, who had done every violent Thing he had desired for his Service, were fallen upon, except they would comply with the Service-Book, which Abundance of them refused. And thus he made his Friends his Enemies.

This was the Project of Archbishop Laud in England, who afterwards made *L'Amende honorable*, for these and several other English Extravagances of like Nature with the Loss of his Head. This Bishop had introduced several Novelties in the Church of England it self, encouraged and proposed the Book of Sports, persecuted the Puritans, and insulted with unheard of Pride several of the Clergy of the English Church, particularly in a Visitation of his Clergy, he took upon him to remove the Communion-Table in all the Churches, which, from the Reformation, had always stood in the Body of the Church, and to place it Altar-Fashion at the upper End of the Chancel, on an Ascent, and railed about, exactly after the Manner of the Church of Rome. 'This, says a *learned Historian of those Times*, was opposed by divers of the Clergy, and the Bishop of Lincoln wrote a Book, called, *The holy Table*, shewing the Practice of the Primitive Churches, and with Arguments against this Innovation.'

Had he contented himself to have introduc'd his *Petty-Popery* into the Church of England, and let the Church of Scotland alone, his worthless Name had had no Place in these Memoirs; but whether put upon it by his own mischievous, turbulent Spirit, which was always restless in tyrannizing over others; or, as some have suggested, invited to it by some of the Prelates in Scotland, it was not long ere he began to intermeddle with his Neighbours in Scotland: And the Occasion seems to be as follows.

King James had, says the English Historians, had so good Success in pulling down the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and setting up an Episcopal Hierarchy, that he had conceived what they call, in England, a farther Reformation of that Church, meaning the Church of Scotland, by bringing them to a Conformity in Worship, as well as in Government, to the Church of England; and for that Purpose had ordered some of the Scots Bishops to compile a Book or Form of Common-Prayer, &c. to be used in Scotland, which they did; but the Death of that Prince, and the Opposition made to it from the most learned even of the Episcopal Ministers themselves in Scotland, occasioned that no more was done in it at that Time. This is taken from the Accounts given in our English Histories of those Things;† for the Scots either never new any Thing of it, or did not own it.

* Whitlock's Memoirs, fol. 24.

† Coke's Detection, Vol. i. page

‡ Whitlock's Memoirs, fol. 25. col. 2.

King Charles I. falling in with the pernicious Counsels of Archbishop *Laud*, as above; renews this Project, if it was such, of his Fathers, and gives Direction to the said Bishop *Laud*, and several other of the *English* Clergy, to revise that Liturgy, which they did; and forming another out of it with several material Alterations, and even more distastful to the *Scots* than the *English* Liturgy it self, they advised the King to send it down into *Scotland*, and to command it to be read in all the Churches there, and that it should be conform'd universally to as it was in *England*.

The People of *Scotland* were greatly alarmed at this Innovation; and it is said, that several of the Episcopal Clergy took the Freedom to remonstrate against it, to whose Memory I would not fail to do Justice had History recorded their Names.

But the Bishops, and some Lords of the Council, both approving the Design, and having received the King's positive Directions for it, set themselves immediately to Work, to cause this Common-Prayer-Book to be read.

It is said, that before it was admitted, some of the Bishops in *Scotland* objected against it, that tho' they liked the Book, yet they were disgusted at its being imposed by the *English*; also they objected against the Translation of the Psalms, Epistles, and Gospels, which were differing from their Bibles; and that this, to satisfy them, was amended.

Now, as if they were resolved to irritate the People of *Scotland* to the utmost, this Service-Book was not only appointed to be read; but the Minister officiating was to have on the Surplice, according to the *English* Custom, which was a new and uncouth Sight to the People of *Scotland*, hateful to the knowing, and next to frightful to the ignorant well-meaning People, and which tended to make the Thing it self, to the last Degree, odious to the whole Nation.

It was first set up in the Chappel Royal at *Holyrood-House*, where none being obliged to go but the King's Servants, it being no parochial Church, it was not so offensive; for tho' the People abhor'd the thing it self, yet as it was not imposed upon them, they concerned themselves the less about it; but this was only an Introduction to the rest, and the using it there was to make it a little familiar to the Citizens, who flocked thither to satisfy their Curiosity. But this was upon a wrong Supposition, (*viz.*) That as the Fox, by often seeing the Lion, was less terrified, so the more the People were acquainted with this Innovation, the more they would like it; whereas on the contrary, the more the People saw this Service perform'd, the more hateful and abominable it appeared to them.

It was on the 23d of July 1687, when the Dean of *Edinburgh* appointed to preach in the great Church in that City, and resolved before Sermon, in his Habit and Surplice, to read the Service-Book, as he had done before in the Royal Chappel.

There was a great Concourse of People in the Church, expecting what would be the End of this Matter, and some Guards were placed at Hand, to prevent any Disorder in the Town; but no one expected any Thing like that which happened, neither could it be suspected, or was there ever afterward any Ground to believe that any Thing was concerted before, except that it was in the Appointment of divine Providence, to bring forth what follow'd by these unforeseen Accidents.

The Hour of Service being come, the Dean, in

his Surplice, comes out of the Vestry, the People gazing as at a great Show, and making Gestures of Contempt enough, but no Noise or Disorder; he passes through the Croud to the Reading-Desk, and began to read, the People still continuing quiet, when, on a sudden, at some Words that disgusted her, an old Woman, in a Rage, starts up, VIL-LAIN, says she, dost thou say the Mass at my LUG,* and taking up a little Stool, which she sat on, she drives it full at his Head, raising a most hideous Noise in the Church by it: Some that sat next her, following her Example, did the like, till, in a Word, the whole Church was in an Uproar, and the Dean fain to come down out of the Desk, and pull off his Surplice, for fear of being torn in Pieces; the Bishop of *Edinburgh*, being present, went up into the Pulpit, and beckning for Silence, offered to speak; but it was all to no purpose, neither did they spare; but Sticks, Stools, and any Thing that came to Hand, flew at him, from all Quarters, till at last both Bishop and Dean were obliged to give over, and retire into the Vestry.

The Lord Chancellor call'd to the Magistrates, to come down and appease the People, but it was all ineffectual; for, by this Time, the Tumult was as great without as within, and Showers of Stones, Sticks, &c. assaulted the Church-Windows from the Street.

Nor did it end here; for the Multitude encreasing, went to all the Churches where the Curates had designed to read the Service-Book, and set all in an Uproar in every Quarter of the City.

The Dean and Clergy, in the great Church, with the Magistrates and the Courtiers, having gotten rid of the Rabble for a while lock'd themselves in, and went on with their Liturgy by themselves; but the Mob, who waited for them in the Street, assaulted the Bishop as he came out, and it was not without Difficulty that he got safe to the Palace.

This was the Beginning, and at that Time it went no farther; the Care of the Magistrates, and Power of the Court, overawing the Croud. But the Harvest being over, and People more at Leisure, it was soon found that the Generality of the Nation, as well the Gentlemen as the old Women, were disgusted at the imposing this Liturgy upon the Church; and about the Middle of September, great Numbers of Gentlemen being, with their Servants, come to *Edinburgh*, a Petition was drawn up, and handed about to be signed, requesting the Council, in their own Names, and the Names of all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who should agree to the same; That the Service-Book might be no farther prest upon them till these Things might be represented to the King, and his Majesty's Pleasure be farther known. An infinite Number set their Hands to this Petition, and among them several Gentlemen of good Rank, and their Number encreased every Day.

The Council, instead of showing any Concern at these Things, pretended to resent it to the Gentlemen that presented the Petition, and threatened them to give the King an Account of their Names, as disorderly and disaffected Persons, and to take Order with them as such; and instead of an Answer to their Address, they published a Proclamation, to remove the Session, that is the Term, to *Linlithgow*, thinking thereby to take away the Pretence for People to flock to *Edinburgh*, as they usually did at that Time on their Law-Business: They also dissolved all Meetings on Church-Affairs, &c.

This encreased the Rage of the Citizens of *Edin-*

* *Whitlock's* Memoirs, fol. 25. col. 2.

* My Ear.

burgh; for the Removing the Term was a Ruin to the City, as it hinder'd the Concurrence of People there on those Occasions.

The very next Day after this, the Mob gathered in *Edinburgh* to a prodigious Multitude, and there is no doubt but that whatever it was before, this new Tumult was concerted among those Gentlemen who had petition'd, as above; nor was it long ere they publicly appeared with and at the Head of them in the Street.

The first Thing the People did, they surrounded the Council-House, the Privy-Council being sitting, and demanded a better Answer to their Petition, and that the Service-Book be laid aside till the King was fully informed of the Matter: The Bishop of *Galloway*, going to the Council, was assaulted in the Street, tho' with Words only, and followed to the Door: The Earl of *Traquair* had the same Fate, as had also the Lord Treasurer. The last was indeed insulted particularly, and his WHITE-STAFF taken away in the Street.

At the same Time another Part of the Rabble beset the Magistrates of the City and the Town-Council, and demanded of them to join with them in opposing the *English* Liturgy or Service-Book, and threatening to pull them out by the Heels, they obliged them to draw up a Paper, and sign it, engaging not to permit the idolatrous Service-Book, so they then termed it, to be read in any Place within their Bounds, and to recal their banished Ministers.

It was in vain, that the Lords, in the Privy-Council-Chamber, sent Expresses to the Town-Council-House to the Magistrates, to come and rescue them; who could only make Return, by telling, that they were in the same Condition, and what they had been obliged to do: The Lords had then no Remedy but to send to some of the better Sort of those of the other Side, to come and relieve them: Upon this Request, several Lords and Gentlemen, of good Quality, of those who opposed the Service-Book, came and spoke to the People, and desired them to let the Bishops and Lords quietly depart.

To these the People immediately yielded, and they guarded their Enemies to their own Houses through the Rabble. And now it was easie for them to see that the People were no more to be imposed upon; for the very next Day a Petition was presented to the Privy Council against the Service-Book: And this was not a Petition of the Rabble; but sign'd by Nineteen Noblemen, Three Hundred Gentlemen, of good Note, and by the principal Inhabitants of the City of *Edinburgh*.

This Petition was sent up to the King, but no favourable Answer was obtained; but to shew the Resentment of the Court against the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, the Session was removed to *Sterling*, by Proclamation; and another was published, to forbid all tumultuous Resorts or Meetings, on Pain of Rebellion.

This serv'd to unite the People, who, having made themselves obnoxious, by appearing in these Things, were obliged, for their own Security, to go thorough with their Word; and therefore taking no more Notice of the Council than as Enemies that did them ill Offices with the King, and resolving to defend their Liberties at whatever Hazard, they now began to form themselves, and to consider their Strength, the Generality of the Nation being really on their Side: In the first Place, the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lyndsay*, and Abundance of Lords and Gentlemen drew up a Protestation, under their Hands, against these Proclamations, and having sent it to the Council, they from that

Time met in a Body, *de die in diem*, to consider the State of the Nation.

Here the famous TABLES were formed, of which our Histories are so full; by the Order of which every Degree sat by themselves. (1.) The Nobility. (2.) The Gentlemen. (3.) The Burroughs. (4.) The Ministers. And yet all communicated their Resolves; so that every Thing was done with Unanimity and Agreement.

They were no sooner put into this Posture, but being sure of the Concurrence of the People, they took no Notice any more of the persecuting Council; no, nor of the King himself as to his Menaces or Missions; but taking the Administration so far into their Hands, they proceeded to redress the Grievances of the State.

They began, a *Jore principium*, with the Restoration of the Church: All the Episcopal Pomp and Ceremony vanish'd at once: The Bishops stood at Gaze, or fled, not daring to shew their persecuting Faces, and the Meeting of the general TABLE renewed the ancient Confession of Faith and Presbyterian Church-Government, entering into a solemn COVENANT, one with another, to defend and preserve the said Profession of the true Protestant reformed Religion, and likewise the Person of the King.

The King had a particular Account of all these Things laid before him, and they were let to know that his Majesty resented it highly, which was nothing more or less than to animate them in the Prosecution of their new Undertaking.

They proceeded therefore with all the Resolution and Vigour possible, to settle and establish the Liberties and Constitution, both of Church and State; and that in such a Manner as not to be again supplanted or disappointed by their Enemies. In order to this the imprisoned Ministers were every where set free, the Banished called home, and all restored to their Livings, to the inexpressible Joy of the People of *Scotland*, who forbore not, upon all Occasions, to express their Detestation of the Innovations which had been put upon them before.

It would take up a long History by it self to record the restless Endeavours of the Bishops, and their Dependents; as also the Episcopal Clergy in *England*, by any Means to bring themselves in again; but alas! there was not the least Room to thrust the Notion of it into the Peoples Heads: They were every where overjoyed to see their poor banished Ministers return, the Church restored to her Liberties, and to enjoy her General Assemblies, regular Judicatories, publick Communion, &c. without Disturbance, as before.

The other Party had but one Way left, which was to provoke the King to the highest Resentment, so to embark the Power of *England*, in Support of that Resentment, and to bring down a formidable Army to chastise them as Rebels against his Royal Authority. This they threatened the Covenanters with, so the Presbyterians were then called in *England*, because of the Covenant taken, as above.

It was certain, that a King of *England* at the Head of all the Powers of that opulent Nation, was a most formidable Thing; and as the King had Troops ready about him, these People perfectly naked, unprovided, undisciplin'd, and the like; the Resentment of the King was the more terrible, and it occur'd often from *Solomon's* Words, That the Wrath of a King is like the roaring of a Lion.

But the covenanted Lords, far from being dismay'd at all these Threats, stood boldly to what they

which then happen'd at Court, gave them a very good Opportunity, and several discontented Lords, and some under Prosecutions for differing Causes, not Religion, yet all joined with these to recover their Liberty by Force, and to lay hold of this Occasion, as offered by Heaven for their Return.

About the Beginning of October, the banished Lords from abroad, and the discontented Lords at home, meet at *Jedburgh*; and mustering their Forces found they had between Nine and Ten Thousand Men well appointed: The King and the Earl of *Arras* lay at *Sterling*, with few Forces; the Lords advance to *Falkirk*, and the next Day to *Sterling*: The Earl of *Arras*, the Archbishop, and all the wicked Crew fly over *Forth*, pursued faster by their own Guilt, than by their Enemies; the Castle surrendered the 4th of November, and the Lords present themselves to the King.

And now the hypocritical Face being put outermost, they are received with Kindness and Favour, tho' nothing less intended or desired; the Episcopal Crew fly while none pursues, the King owns he has been abused, promises to be directed by their Counsel, and pretends to acknowledge the good Hand of God in bringing Things to their due Course again, and restoring them, who were his faithful Friends, without Bloodshed.

The Scene being thus chang'd, Episcopacy vanish'd in a Moment, as a Vapour before the Sun; a Parliament was summoned, and the Church had its Assembly again, which had been suppress'd for near Three Years.

This Assembly was appointed for the 23d of November 1587, and the Place named was *Dunfermling*, the Plague reigning both at *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*; but when the Ministers came thither, they found the Ports of the Town shut against them, by Order of the Laird of *Pisferron*; so they adjourn'd to *Lis-bithgow*.

But the King, who mortally hated the Kirk, began now to work another way; for as he could not recover the Party that was now banished and fled; he fell to flattering the returned Lords, and by smooth Words, Entreaties, Promises, Bribes, &c. to bring them off from their Engagements with the Ministers; so that when the Assembly applied to the King to abrogate the Acts of Parliament, which were their present Grievance, the King flew out in the greatest Rage imaginable, giving them vile and scurrilous Language, and railing them out of his Sight.

Having met with this Repulse, they apply'd to the Lords, but were sorely abash'd when they found them cold and backward; some proposing Delays, others declining to meddle with it at all, others promising fair, but doing nothing, and all of them willing to put it off to another Occasion. But the Ministers besieging the King with continually insisting upon Redress, he commanded them to exhibit what they alledg'd against the Acts of Parliament in Writing, this they did at large, with a Supplication to the King to do them Right. All which are at large in *Culderwood's History*, fol. 192, 193.

The King makes a Declaration, in Answer to this, explaining the Acts of Parliament, and justifying them in all Points. And thus it seem'd to be a Dispute between the Kirk and the King; for this Declaration is said to be penn'd by the King himself. The King would grant no more than this Declaration allow'd, so the Kirk return'd a Supplication to the King, and thus it stood for that Year. This Declaration and Supplication are curious Pieces for those to read who desire to be fully Masters of this Dispute, and much has been said of the extra-

ordinary Nicety and Subtilty of the Composition. They are to be found at large in the *History* of those Times.

As the Assembly was now revived, so were the Provincial Synods; and as that of *Fife* especially had been discontinued, because of their having fallen upon the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*: Upon their being now reviv'd, they renew their Accusation, and as it came in its Order before the said Synod, assembled at *St. Andrews*, who, after very mature Debates, the Archbishop being at first present, they excommunicated him. The Sentence was very particular, and merits a Place in these Memoirs, as follows, viz.

THE ASSEMBLY anent the Process deduced against Mr. *Patrick Adamson*, having considered and tried the same with mature Deliberation, and after Conference held, hath found, That the said Mr. *Patrick Adamson* hath no ways amended his Contumacy and Disobedience to the Voice of the Church of God, and of the said Assembly, convened in the Name of our Lord Jesus; but rather continuing therein, contemptuously travelleth to usurp and exercise his tyrannical Ambition and Supremacy over the Church of God, his Brethren, and this Assembly, with sundry scandalous Untruths, as well against the Word as against some of the Brethren, and being desired by diverse Admonitions, given him in the Name of the Assembly, to hear the Voice of the Church, he not only contemptuously and disdainfully refuseth the Censure and Judgment, and to be tried by the said Assembly; but claiming Supremacy and Judgment above them, heapeth up Contempt upon the Ordinance of Jesus Christ: Adding thereunto the Notoriety of the former Accusation against him before the *General Assembly*, wherein he was thought worthy, for weighty Causes and great Crimes, to be suspended from all Function of the Ministry, as by the said Act of Suspension appears; contrair to the Tenor whereof he hath not only usurp'd again the said Function, &c. against the Ordinance of the Church, but also hath displaid a Banner against the whole good Order and Government of the Church; THEREFORE, and for divers other notorious Slanders, whereof he stands accused, and refuses to undergo lawful Tryal: THE ASSEMBLY, in the Fear of God, and in the Name of Jesus Christ, moved by Zeal to the Glory of God, and for purging of his Church, excommunicates him the said *Patrick Adamson*, and ordains the said sentence of Excommunication instantly to be put in Execution in the Face of the Assembly, and by the Mouth of Mr. *Andrew Hunter*, Minister of *Carnbie*, declaring him to be one of those whom Christ commandeth to be holden as an Heathen or Publican—Ordaining the said Sentence to be intimated in all the Kirks, that none pretend Ignorance thereof.

The Archbishop appealed, and excommunicated several of the Ministers; but he was answered by Mr. *James Melvin* at large, and this is the Sentence which the Bishop begg'd, at his Death, to be absolved from: These Things held the World in Suspence till the next Assembly met, which was in May 1585. This was that famous Assembly, called, *The Assembly of Conference*; wherein a Conference was managed by Commissioners on both Sides, and an Accommodation was proposed. The King insisted upon the Name of Bishop, the Assembly upon the Power and Office. The Assembly granted the Name, and the King gave up the Power, and

* *Culderwood*, Hist. fol. 193, to 195.

thus the Matter seem'd to be compromised between them. And it is from this Assembly, that, to this Day, the Episcopal Party say, that the Presbyterians did acknowledge Episcopacy; but if they look into the Particulars of the Bishop which they allowed, they will find, that he was to be a Pastor of a Congregation, and that he was to be subject to the Assembly, and that he came under several other Circumstances, which will very ill support that Assertion.

In this Assembly, at the King's Request, and upon the Archbishop's Submission, they took off the Excommunication, pronounced at the Synod of Fife, against the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and absolv'd him.

But against this Absolution one of the Ministers, viz. Mr. Andrew Hunter by Name, gave in that memorable Protestation, which stands upon Record in the Book of the Assembly, and to which afterwards most of the rest of the Ministers adhered; which I have added at the End of this Part, No. A.

It was observed, that the King wrought with this Assembly by much Policy and Cunning: He had, by Experience, found that rigid Methods, Persecutions, and Prosecutions would not answer, and that the Ministers became rather the more CONSTANT, or obstinate, as he called it, by such Methods; wherefore he went other ways to work, and seeking by all secret and underhand Dealings, to divide and draw off, to please, wheedle, persuade, entreat, and deceive; by these Methods he got many of the Brethren to act a different Part from what they would otherwise have done. This was evident in the Case of the Archbishop, where he formally submitted, but secretly abhor'd them; the Church formally absolv'd him, and yet secretly believed him to be unreformed.

However it was, the Church, in all this Time, kept upon its Feet, tho' in continual Broils with the King; upon the Subject of Episcopacy, and as well about the Authority as the Name of a Bishop. There were Two Assemblies in the Year 1587, but the latter was convened extraordinary, because of the growing Danger of Popery; the Island being under great Apprehensions, at that Time, from the threatn'd Invasion of the *Spanish Armada*; and during which the Disputes at home were somewhat abated; and it was on this Occasion, that the agreement, called the *General Band*, was subscribed by the King, Council, and several Persons of divers Estates through the whole Kingdom, which, in short, was neither more or less than what we now call an Association, and was done against the Papists, in which are these Words: 'And for our farther hearty Union in this Service, we are content, and consent, that all and whatsoever our Feuds and Variances, fallen, or that may fall out between us, be within 40 Days hereafter, amicably referred and submitted to Seven or Five indifferent Friends, chosen by his Majesty, of our whole Number; and by their Moderation and Arbitriment taken away and composed: And finally, that we will neither directly or indirectly, separate or withdraw us from the Union or Fellowship of one another; and as we shall answer to God, upon our Consciences; and to the World, upon our Truth and Honour, and under Pain to be esteemed Traytors to God and his Majesty, and to have lost all Honour, Credit, and Estimation in Time coming.'

They were at this Time under Apprehensions, as is said, of the *Spanish Invasion*, and the next Assembly being on the 6th of August in *Edinburgh*, appointed a solemn Fast upon that Occasion.

NOTE, the Assembly, not the King appointed this Fast. And at the End of October, the same Year, a solemn Fast was kept Three Sabbaths successively, a Communion celebrated, and the whole concluded with giving Thanks for the Defeat of the *Spanish Armada* by the English. NOTE, all this was without the King.

Things now remain'd in a tolerable Quiet, the Fears of Popish Powers were over by Defeat of the *Spaniards*, the King intent upon his Marriage with the Daughter of the King of Denmark, went over Sea to Copenhagen. The next General Assembly was at *Edinburgh* August 4. 1590, and now the King and the Church seem'd perfectly reconciled, and, which is more, united. Of this Assembly I must record something, the Truth of which is not to be doubted; but the more it is certain, the greater Brand of Infamy and Reproach will it leave behind upon the Person, who, after this, acted so contrary, in his Station, to what he appear'd that Day.

The Eighth Session of this Assembly the King came in Person into the Place where the Ministers held their Meeting, and being seated in a Chair of State, the Moderator Mr. Patrick Galloway proposed Three Things to him, viz. The Ratification of their Liberties, the Purging the Land of Jesuits, Popish Seminaries, &c. and the Provision of Salaries or Stipends in every Parish for the Ministers. For the first, the King answered, That in every Parliament their Liberties were ratified, and should still be so. That he would, with Heart and good Will, join to do the Second; and for Stipends, he referred them to the Council, and ordered them to name Commissioners to treat with the Council about it: After some other Debates, the King stood up, and taking off his Bonnet, with his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, but hypocritically, say the Writers of those Times, he broke out, as it were, in an Extasie of Praises and Thanksgiving to God, (1.) That he was born into the World, at a Time when the Light of God's Word shone clearly forth, eclips'd neither with the Mists of Ignorance, or the false Lights of Superstition. (2.) He blessed God that had honoured him to be a King over SUCH A KIRK, the sincerest KIRK in the World, says the King, repeating it Three Times: To strengthen this he flies out upon other Protestants, The Church of GENEVA, what are they? Says the King, they keep PASCHE and YULE, what Authority have they in God's Word, says the King, and where is their Institution? As for our Neighbour Church in England, says this most sincere and wise King, whom our English Church-Men, after this, compared to Solomon for Wisdom, 'Their Service is an EVIL MASS SAID IN ENGLISH, they want nothing of the Mass but the Liftings: I charge you my good People, turning himself to every Side of the Kirk, Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Barons, and Gentlemen, to stand to your Purity, and to exhort my People to do the same, AND I, forsooth, so long as Life and Crown be left to me, shall maintain the same against all deadly.'

Had he been sincere in this, these Words were to be recorded to his Honour, but we shall soon see his Majesty acting quite another Part. However, for the present, the Words, and above all, the affectionate Manner with which they were spoken, and their coming from the Mouth of their King, unthought of, unexpected by the Auditory, so affected the Ministers that many burst out into Tears for Joy, and Mr. Calderwood relating this Passage says, There was nothing heard for a Quarter of an Hour

had done; and when the Marquess of *Hamilton*, whom the King sent to them, proposed Two Things their Answer will sufficiently acquaint us, that they acted as Men under no Apprehensions of the Power of their Enemies.

The Marquess, vested with the Power of High Commissioner to settle the Peace, entred into a Treaty with them on Two Heads, (*viz.*)

1. What it was they expected from the King, in Satisfaction of their Grievances.
2. Whether they would, after such Satisfaction, return to their Obedience, and renounce their Covenant.

To the first they answered, They expected a free Parliament, and a legal General Assembly, and to that they were willing to refer all their Demands. To the second, That they had not forsaken their Obedience, and therefore needed no Terms of Return; but that as to their Covenant, they would as soon renounce their Baptism: Nor would they enter into any Treaty, if it were mentioned to them a second Time.

There were long and tedious Debates between them upon these Things, and many Expedients the Commissioner offered, in the King's Name, to keep, if possible, the Bishops in their Seats. He went back to the King, return'd again with new Concessions: He offer'd a Declaration from the King, consisting of Eleven Heads, all granting Things to the Covenanters, which they would have rejoic'd at a little before; but now rejected. In this Declaration. The King granted,

1. To annul the Service-Book.
2. The Book of Canons.
3. The high Commission.
4. The Five Articles of *Perth*.
5. That all Persons, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, should be liable to Censure of the Parliament and General Assembly.
6. That no Oath be imposed upon Ministers at their Entry; but what was contain'd in the Act of Parliament.
7. That the ancient Confession of Faith should be renewed, and subscribed as it was in his Father's Reign, with the Band thereto annex'd.
8. That a General Assembly be holden at *Glasgow* the 21st of May.
9. And a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 14th of May after.
10. That therein a general Pardon of all Offences shall be granted.
11. That he will appoint a general Fast.

These were great Things; but as the main Thing was left behind, *viz.* That Episcopacy was left in the Church, the Bishops to remain and to sit in Parliament, and those Things left to the King's Nomination, which, of Right, belong'd to the Church, nothing could be done: They protested against these Concessions, as King-Craft, to delude them; and claiming the Right to call a General Assembly themselves, as by Act of Parliament formerly mentioned, then in Force: They rejected any Accommodation without a perfect restoring the Church of *Scotland* to all her Powers and Privileges, and the total abolishing Episcopacy in that Nation; choosing to run all Hazards, and to put Things to the last Extremity, rather than abate one Tittle of it.

Such Zeal and such Faithfulness to the Principle they profess'd, could not fail to prompt them to all

proper Means to support what they had undertaken; wherefore the Marquess of *Hamilton* being gone back in Disgust, and having used some threatening Speeches at his parting, they resolved not to be surpriz'd; but immediately to put themselves in a Posture of Defence, that they might be able to go thorough with what they had undertaken.

Accordingly they began to lay Taxes for raising Money, gave out Commissions for levying 12 Regiments of Foot and 8 Regiments of Horse, making in all 18000 Men, sent over into *Sweden*, and the low Countries, to invite home the old experienced Generals and Officers of their Nation, whom they could confide in, to come and take Pay in the Service of their Country, and in a Word, made all necessary Preparations of War.

As this arming in *Scotland* was not without very good Intelligence from *England*, of the Resolutions taken there to reduce them by Force, and the Threats of the Marquess of *Hamilton* to their Faces, when he went from them, who told them, insulting, That they must not think to use their Kings now as they did formerly, when they were only Kings of Rebels; that the King had another loyal and warlike Nation at his Command, and that they should soon feel it to their Cost. As, I say, these Things went before their arming, the *English* Historians are manifestly partial, who say the King armed only in his own Defence, and in charging the *Scots* with a Design to begin the War; it being manifest they were capable of no other Design than of securing themselves against being trampled on by a bigotted Court and an incens'd Clergy.

It is also evident, that this Vigilance was, under God, the Means of their Preservation; for that when the King advanc'd forwards to *York*, and from thence to the Border, they were ready in the Field before him, and that with such a resolute Countenance, as that the *English* Army cared not to attack them; and when the Earl of *Holland*, General of the Horse to the King, advanc'd in a Bravado with a strong Brigade of Horse and a Detachment of Foot, he was driven back faster than he came, by half the Number of the *Scots* Cavalry, with Musketeers in their Intervals; a Manner of fighting which the *English* had not seen, and which some *Scots* Officers had learn'd under the great *Gustavus Adolphus*; it would make too much sport with the *English* Courage and Bravery, which is so well confirm'd in the World, to give an Account how like Scoundrels this Army behaved. An *English* Historian of Note says, in a Manuscript which I have seen, they were raised by the Clergy, and imitated their Masters; for as the Clergy, who prompt'd this War, accompanied the King to *York*, but left him when he came into the Field; so the raw [and undisciplin'd] Army accompanied him to the Field, but left him when they should have engaged; in a Word, none of the Troops, after the first Skirmish, car'd to engage, or to look the *Scots* in the Face; who, on the other Hand, tho' they would not attack the King, yet stood ready and shewed all the Forwardness in the World to give Battle.

The King's Generals finding the Disposition of their Men, told the King very plainly, it was not his best Way to engage: Upon which Notice was given the *Scots* Army, that they might send some to treat with his Majesty upon their Demands, which was done, and in which all possible Artifice was used to make a superficial Agreement, that the *Scots* might be obliged to disband, and so might be surpriz'd again unarm'd.

However, they made a Pacification, and accord-

ing to the Terms they broke their Army; but having certain Intelligence from *England*, of the treacherous Design, they kept the Officers and Generals in Half-pay, a Practice to this Day used when Nations put an End to a War with no very great Assurances of preserving the Peace.

As they had been inform'd, so it prov'd; for the King, fired by the Clergy, sought Occasions of new Quarrels, and declined establishing their Civil and Ecclesiastick Liberties according to their Model, and then pretending the *Scots* had not kept their Articles, denounced them Rebels both in *England* and *Ireland*.

This obliged them to restore their Troops, with all possible Expedition, and so soon were they completed, the Zeal and Alacrity of the common People furnishing Men even faster than they required, that they were in the Field 20 Days before the King: And now they used no more Ceremony about advancing beyond their own Borders, as before; but finding no Army ready, they entered *England* in Order of Battle, and advanc'd to *New-Castle upon Tyne*, before any Enemy appear'd.

Here the Royal Army fac'd them, and it was thought impossible the *Scots* should pass the *Tyne*, without fighting; but General *Lesly*, an old Soldier, resolving to put it to the Issue of a Battle, pass'd the River at *Newbourn*, in the Face of a strong Body of the *English* Army; beat them fairly by plain Fighting from their Post, and killed 300 of their Men; which Action so frightened the King, and his whole Army, that they would not strike a Stroke more; but shamefully retreated to *York*, leaving *New-Castle* and *Durham* in Possession of the *Scots*.

Here began the *English* Troubles and Civil War, which, as they belong not to our Story, I shall mention no farther than to make good what I observ'd before, *viz.* That God so ordered it even from the Beginning of the Reformation in *Scotland*, that no Men, or Party of Men, have ever yet fallen upon the Church of *Scotland*, but it has been at length their own Destruction; the Church has been like the Stone in the Gospel, and on her religious establishment may be written, as is upon her Banners, *Nemo me impune lacessit*. Ever may it be so, and may her Enemies take the Warning, that they never more make the Attempt.

Now the Church of *Scotland* was arriv'd to her full grown State indeed: Her Enemies were not only subdued, but all in her Power; her Assemblies were now reviv'd, the Covenant which had been the Band of all this Steadiness, was renewed, all her Church-Judicatories were restored, Episcopacy was entirely abolish'd, and all her Persecutors fled; for Fear of falling into the Hands of that Justice which they had before exercised to Tyranny and Oppression.

A few Words will finish this Part of her Story: The King, and his High-Church Army being retreated, after the Action at *Newbourn*, it is impossible to express the Consternation they were in: The *Scots* Army being advanc'd to *Durham*, were now entire Masters of *England*: If they had pleased to advance, nothing could have stood before them. They were entirely possess'd of all the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Durham*, and began to extend themselves towards the *West*, and as they received daily Supplies of Men from *Scotland*, they would, in Six Days more, have been possess'd of *Westmoreland* and *Lancashire*, there being no Forces to oppose them but at *York*, and those under the terrible Apprehension of being attack'd by our whole Army, which, God and a just Quarrel being

on the *Scots* Side, they were in no Condition to oppose.

The King, in the utmost Distress, here summoned a great Council of his *English* Nobility to consult what to do; they advise him to what, for 14 Year, had been his Aversion; namely, the calling a Parliament, and to send to the *Scots* to treat of a second Pacification, which they, in the greatest Prosperity of their Affairs, readily consent to: This was the famous Treaty of *Rippon*, where, granting a Cessation of Arms, contrary to the Practice of all victorious Armies, rating their Contributions that the Country might not be oppress'd, and limiting their Army to the Banks of the River *TEES*, they sat still, waiting upon Providence, and to see what would be the Issue of those great Things which were then in view.

I mention this as it concurs with what is observ'd before, (*viz.*) That this arming in *Scotland* has nothing in it of what the Enemies of the Church *Scotland* charg'd upon them, *viz.* Of a Design against either the Person or Government of their Prince: but was nothing more or less than what the evident Necessity of their Circumstances led them to, in Defence of their Civil and Religious Rights, which were illegally overthrown by their Enemies; which Enemies had solicited a FOREIGN AID; for such even their own King, at the Head of the *English* Forces, was; to subdue and destroy them: nor was their Practice in this Case any thing but what has been practised and allowed to be agreeable to the Laws of Nature, and of our Country, by both Nations, on several Occasions, less urgent than this, as will, in Part, appear in this Account.

It remains only to observe, that on the Meeting of the Parliament in *England*, the *Scots* being fairly treated with, their just Demands granted, and afterwards confirm'd, they quitted *England* in August 1640; intermeddled not then with the Quarrels and Divisions which, from that Time, began to encrease; but retir'd within their own Borders, and laid down their Arms, till the Flame of Civil War, which afterwards broke out in *England*, involv'd them of Course in the Share of it, which they felt to their great Loss and Oppression, on many Accounts.

But the Story of those Things not relating to the Church-Affairs, I pass over, referring to the Histories of both Nations. I have only to conclude this Part with saying, that from this Time to the Restoration of King *Charles II*, the Church of *Scotland*, being uninterrupted as to her Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction, subsisted in her full grown State; enjoying the full Liberty of her Constitution, both in Worship, Discipline, and Government: In Civil Affairs, their Country was often involv'd in War and Confusion enough; but as to the Church, which is the proper Business of this Tract, it suffer'd no considerable Interruption.

Her next Appearance will be a State of Trial, the Return of her implacable Enemies the Bishops and their Hierarchy, where we shall see her again overwhelmed in Blood, and Suffering the most cruel and merciless Persecution that ever Protestant Church endured: Her Neck being for Eight and Twenty Years continually under the Feet of Tyranny and Oppression.

CONCLUSION.

From this whole Account, this just Observation presents it self to our View.

1. That as the Church of *Scotland* reform'd at first from Popery into Presbyterianism, so when the Invasions of Episcopacy, supported by the

Tyranny of Princes, had reduced her to the lowest Ebb, yet whenever the Hand of Tyranny was taken away, and the People of Scotland were left to the Freedom of their own Choice in Matters of religious Worship, they never fail'd to demonstrate, that Episcopacy was their Aversion; and that they still retain'd a sincere Affection to the Model of their first Reformers; that the Presbyterian Church was truly National, and that they would always, by

their Choice, embrace the same, both in Doctrine, Discipline, Worship, and Government.

2 That Episcopacy never got Ground in Scotland, but by Violence; and never fail'd to exercise what Power it had there, to oppress and destroy its Opposers; being always animated with a Spirit of Persecution in the Church, and absolute Tyranny in the State, as will still more fully appear in that Part of this Work which is still behind.

The End of the Second Part.

ADDENDA.

HERE FOLLOWS SOME ORIGINAL PAPERS AND ACCOUNTS OF THINGS, WHICH ARE REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING PART.

No. A.

The Protestation of Mr. Andrew Hunter, against the absolving the Bishop of St. Andrews, without Repentance.

I Respect that the Provincial Assemblie of the Kirk gathered in Christ's Name, holden at St. Andrews the Twelfth Day of April 1586, For manifest Crimes and open Contumacie, hath justly and formally according to the Word of God, and sincere Custom of this Kirk, excommunicated Mr. Patrick Adamson; and that in this General Assemblie they take upon them to absolve the said Mr. Patrick from the Sentence of Excommunication, the Process not being tried nor heard in publick, the Person excommunicated declaring no Signis of true Repentance, nor craving the said Absolvitur by himself, nor by his Procurators, before the very Time, wherein they absolve him: I therefore for my Part, and in Name of all the other Brethren and true Christians, who will be participant with me, take God to Record of the Dealing of that provincial Assemblie, and this Assemblie General; protesting also before the Almighty, his holy Angels, and Saints here convened, that I have no Assurance in God's Word to my Conscience, to assent, allow or approve this his Absolvitur: And therefore until the Time I perceive his Conversion to be true and effectual, I cannot but hold him as one justly delivered to Satan, notwithstanding of the said Absolvitur.

And this his Protestation, subscribed with his Hand, he desired to be registred *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*; and withal gave his Reasons moving him thereto.

No. B.

The Recantation of Mr. Patrick Adamson, Bishop of St. Andrews, directed to the Synod convened at St. Andrews 8. Aprilis 1591.

Brethren, understanding the Proceedings of the Assembly in my contrare, and being now withholden by Sickness, to present my self before you, that I may give Confession of that Doctrine, wherein I hope God shall call me, and that at his Pleasure I may depart in the Unitie of the Christian Faith; I thought good by Writ to utter the same unto your Wisdoms, and to crave your godly Wisdom's Assistance, not for the Restitution of any worldly Pomp or Preeminence, which I little respect; but to remove from me the Slanders, which are raised in this Country,

concerning the Variance of Doctrine, specially on my Part; wherein I protest before God, that I have only a single Respect to his Glorie, and by his Grace I shall abide herein to my Life's End.

First, I confess the true Doctrine of Christian Religion to be publicly taught, and rightly announced within this Realm, and detest all Papistrie and Superstition; like as (blessed be God) I have detested the same in my Heart the Space of Thirtie Years, since it pleased God to give me the Knowledge of the Truth, wherein I have walked uprightly, as well here, as in other Countries, as the Lord beareth me Record; untill these last Days, wherein, partly for Ambition and vain Glory, to be preferred before my Brethren; and partly for Covetousness, to possess the Pelf of the Kirk, I did undertake this Office of Archbishoprick, wherewith justly the sincerest Professors of the Word have found Fault, and have condemned the same, as impertinent to the Office of a sincere Pastor of God's Word. And albeit Men would colour the same, and the Imperfections thereof, by divers Cloaks; yet the same cannot be concealed from the Eyes of the Faithful; neither yet can the Men of God, when they are put to their Conscience, dissemble the same.

Next, I confess I was in an erroneous Opinion, that I believed the Government of the Kirk to be like unto the Kingdoms of the Earth, plain contrary to the Command of our Master Christ (as it is;) but also in Ministers, who are nothing, but Vassals under him in an Equality among themselves.

Thirdly, That I married the Earl of Huntlie, contrair the Commandment of the Church, without the Confession of his Faith, and Profession of the sincere Doctrine of the Word, I repent and crave God Pardon.

That I travelled both by reasoning, and other ways, to subject Kirkmen to the King's Ordinance, in Things that appertained to Ecclesiastical Matters, and Things of Conscience; whereupon sundrie great Enormities have fallen forth in this Country, I ask God Mercie.

That I taught, Presbyteries to be a foolish Invention, and would have had it so esteemed of all Men, which is an Ordinance of Christ, I crave God Mercie.

Farther, I submit my self to the Mercie of God, and Judgment of the Assemblie, not measuring

'my Offences by my self, nor Infirmities by my own Ingine, but by the good Judgment of the Kirk, to which always I subject my self, and beseech you to make Intercession to God for me, and to the King, that I may have some moyen to live, and consume the rest of my wretched Time, for winning of whose Favour (which foolishly I thought thereby to obtain) I committed all these Errors.

'Whereas I am burdened to be the Setter forth of the Book, called *The King's Declaration*, wherein the whole Order of the Kirk is condemned and traduced, I protest before God, that I was commanded to write the same by the Chancellor for the Time, but chiefly by the Secretar. another great Courtier, who himself penned the second Act of Parliament, concerning the Power and Authority of Judicature to be absolutely in the King's Power; and that it should not be lawful to any Subject to reclaim from the same, under the Penalties of the Act, which I suppose was Treason.

'Item, Where it is alledged, that I should have condemned the Doctrine, announced and taught by the Ministrie of *Edinburgh*, concerning Obedience to the Prince, I confess and protest before God, that I never understood, nor yet knew any Thing, but Sinceritie and Uprightness in the Doctrine of the Ministers of *Edinburgh* in that Point, or in any other.

'Farther, I confess I was the Author of the Act discharging the Ministers Stipends, that would not subscribe the Acts of Parliament, wherewith God had justly recompensed my self.

'As for any violent Course, it is knowna well enough, who was the Author thereof, and my Part was tried at the Imprisonment of Mr. *Nicol Dalgleish*, Mr. *Patrick Melvill*, Mr. *Thomas Jack*, and others.

'Moreover, I grant I was more busie with some Bishops in *England*, in Prejudice of the Discipline of our Kirk, partly when I was there, and partly by mutual Intelligence since, than became a good Christian, much less a faithful Pastor. Neither is there any Thing that more ashameth me, than my often deceiving and abusing of the Kirk heretofore, by Confessions, Subscriptions, Protestations, &c. which be far from me now and ever hereafter. Amen.

'Your Brother in the Lord

'*M. Patrick Adamson.*

'Where your Wisdomes desire to have my own Opinion, concerning the Book of the Declaration of the King's Intention; the same is at more length declared in the Confession, which I have exhibited already, wherein I have condemned all the Articles therein contained; like as by these Presents I condemn the same.

'Where you require, what became of the Books of the Assemblies? I reserved them whole, until the returning of the Lords and the Ministrie out of *England*; and if I had not preserved them, my Lord *Arran* intended to have made them to be cast in the Fire. And upon a certain Day in *Falkland*, before they were delivered to the King's Majesty, the Bishop of *N.* accompanied with Mr. *Henry Hammiltoun*, rent out some Leaves, and destroyed such Things as made against our Estate, and that not without my own special Allowance.

'As for the Books which I have set forth, I have set forth nothing, except a Commentary upon the first Epistle of *Paul to Timothy*, which shall be directed to the King's Majesty, and kept ne

Exemplar beside me; and I understand that Mr. *John Gaddie* got the same from the King, and lent it to Mr. *Robert Hepburn*.

'Farther, I wrote nothing, but only made mention, in my Preface upon the *Apocalypses*, that I should write a Book called *Psallus*, which (being prevented by Disease) God would not suffer me to finish, and the little Thing that was done I caused destroy it. I have set forth the Book of *Job*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremie*, all in Verse, to be printed in *England*.

'As for my Intention, I am not disposed, nor of Abillitie to write any Thing at this Time; and if it please God I were restored to my Health, I would change my Stile, as *Cyprianus* did at the Council of *Trent*.

'As for *Sullivan's* Book against the Form and Order of the Presbyteries, so far am I from being Partner in that Work, that as I know not the Man, nor had ever Intelligence of the Work, before it was done; so if it please God to give me Days, I will write in his contrarie.

'Prays the Brethren to be at Unitie and Peace with me, and in Token of their Forgiveness, because my Health suffereth me not to go over to the Colledge, where ye are presently assembled, which I would gladly do, to ask God and you Forgiveness, that it would please you to repair hither, that I may do it.

'Moreover I condemn, by this my Subscription, whatsoever is contained in the Epistle Dedicatorie to the King's Majesty before my Book upon the *Revelation*, that is either slanderous, or offensive to the Brethren. Also I promise to satisfie the Brethren of *Edinburgh*, or any other Kirk in this Realm, according to good Conscience, in whatsoever they find themselves justly offended, and contrare to the Word of God; in any of my Speeches, Actions or Proceedings, which have past from me.

'And concerning the Commentary upon the first Epistle of *Paul to Timothy*, because there are diverse Things therein contained offensive, and that tend to allow the State of Bishops, otherways than God's Word can suffer, I condemn the same.

'The Pages before written, dictated by me Mr. *Patrick Adamson*, and written at my Commandment by my Servant Mr. *Samuel Cuninghame*, I subscribe with my own Hand, as acknowledged by me, in Sinceritie of Conscience, as in the Presence of God, before these Witnesses, directed to me from the Synodal Assemblies, because of my Inabilitie to repair towards them, *James Monipennie* younger of *Pittmillie*, *Andrew Wood* of *Stracathie*, *David Murray* Portioner of *Ardeit*, Mr. *David Russel*, Mr. *William Murray* Minister at *Dysert*, Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, *David Ferguson*, with diverse others.

M. P. ADAMSON.

David Ferguson's witness. *David Murray* with my M. *Nicol Dalgleish*. Hand witness.

James Monipennie of *Pittmillie* witness. M. *David Russel*.

Andrew Wood of *Stracathie* witness. M. *David Spence*. M. *John Caldwell*.

M. *Robert Wilkie* witness. M. *William Murray*.

Mr. *Patrick Adamson's* own Answer to and Refutation of the Book, falsely called, *The King's Declaration*.

'I have enterprised of mere remorse of Conscience, to write against a Book, called, *A Declaration of the King's Majesty's Intention*; albeit it containeth little or nothing of the King's own Intention, but my own at the Time of the Writ-

ing thereof, and the corrupt Intentions of such as for the Time were about the King, and abused his Minoritie. Of which Book, and Contents thereof, compiled by me at the Command of some chief Courtiers for the Time (as is before written) I shall shortly declare my Opinion, as the Infirmitie of Sickness, and Weakness of Memory will permit.

First, in the whole Book nothing is contained, but Assertions of Lies, ascribing to the King's Majesty that whereof he was not culpable: For albeit, as the Time went, his Majesty could have suffered these Things to have been published in this Realme; yet his Majesty was never of that Nature, as to have reviled any Man's Person, or to upbraid any Man with Calumnies, whereof there is a Number contained in that Book.

Secondly, In the Declaration of the second Act of Parliament, there is mention made of Mr. Andrew Melvins and his Preachings, most wrongfully condemned, in special as factious and seditious; albeit his Majesty hath had a lively Trial of that Mans Fidelity and Truth, in all Proceedings from Time to Time. True it is, he is earnest and zealous, and can abide no Corruption (which most unadvisedly I attributed to a fiery and salt Humour) which his Majesty findeth by Experience to be true. For he allowed well of him, and knoweth Things, that were alledged upon him, to have been false and contrived Treacheries.

There are contained in the second Act of Parliament, and Declaration thereof, diverse other false Calumnies, to defame the Ministrie, and to bring the Kirk of God in Hatred and Envy with their Prince and the Nobility, burdening and accusing falsely the Ministers of Sedition, and other Crimes, whereof they were innocent. As likewise it is written in the same Act and Declaration thereof, that sovereign and supreme Power, in Matters Ecclesiastical, pertaineth to the King; which is worthy to be condemned, and not to be contained among Christian Acts, where the Power of the Word is to be extolled above all the Power of Princes, and they are to be brought under Subjection to the same.

The fourth Act condemned the Presbyteries, as a Judgment not allowed by the King's Law, which is a very slender Argument. For as concerning the Authority of the Presbyterie, we have the same warranted in the Gospel, *Matth. Ch. 18.* where Christ commanded to tell the Kirk. Which Authoritie being commanded by Christ, and the Acts of Parliament forbidding it, we should rather obey God than Man. And yet the Presbyterie wanted never the Kings Authoritie for Allowance thereof from the Beginning; saving only at that Hour of Darkness, when he was abused with evil Companie. As for any other Thing that is contained in this Act, against any Order or Proceeding of the Presbyterie, it is to be esteemed, that nothing was done by the Presbyterie without Wisdom, Judgment, and Discretion; and so hath received Approbation again by the Kirk, whereunto also I understand his Majesty hath given Allowance, hath ratified and approved the same, which should be a sufficient Reason to repress all Mens Curiositie, that either have, or yet would find fault with the same.

The last Act containeth the establishing of a Bishop, which hath no Warrant in the Word of God, but is grounded upon the Policie of Man's Invention, whereupon the Primacie of the Pope or Antichrist is risen, which is worthe to be disallowed and forbidden: Because the Number of the Eldership, that hath Jurisdiction and Over-

sight, as well of Visitation, as of Admission, will do the same far more authentickly, godly, and with greater Zeal, than a Bishop, whose Care commonly is not upon God and his Dutie, but upon the World, whereupon his chief Attendance is. Consider how that Office hath been used, these Five Hundred Years bygone, with what Crueltie and Tyrannie it hath been exercised; ye shall find it to have been the chief mean, that hath in every Countrey suppressed the Word of God; which shall be evident to all that read the Storie of the Kirk. As for my own Opinion, it seemeth to be nearest to the Truth, and farthest from all kind of Ambition, that the Brethren in equal Degree assemble themselves under the Head Christ, and there every Man discharge his Office carefully, as he is commanded. And because Weakness of Memorie and Sickness suffereth me not at length to discourse upon these Matters, as I would, I must request the good Reader to assure himself, that I have written these, without Compulsion or Persuasion of any Man, with an upright Heart; and have delivered the same with perfect Sinceritie of Mind, so far as Infirmitie of Flesh and Blood did suffer, as God shall judge me at the latter Day: And that the same Reader account, that whatsoever Things are omitted, is to be imputed to the Imbecillitie of my Memorie, and the present Sickness; and not to any good Will, which, I protest, was to have condemned every Point, yea even to the false Narration of the Banquet, and all the rest contained in the little Treatise called, *The Declaration of the King's Majesty's Intention*, as I acknowledge they deserve to be condemned by the Censure and Judgment of the Kirk, to the which also I submit my self, in whatsoever Thing, I have either in Word or Writ attempted in that foresaid Declaration, or otherwise. By these Presents subscribed with my Hand at St. Andrews the Twelfth of May, 1591. Before these Witnesses Mr. David Black Minister at St. Andrews, Mr. Robert Wilkie Principal at St. Leonard's College, Mr. John Aitoun of Ennath, Mr. William Russell.

M. David Black witness. William Learmonth.
George Ramsey. Patrick Gutrie.
M. John Auchinleck. Charles Watson, Scribe.

I M. Patrick Adamson declare, that this Confession and Declaration before-written, is my own Confession, given with my Heart, and subscribed with my Hand, before these Witnesses under-written, under subscribing with me at my Request and Desire, at St. Andrews the 10. of June 1591.

PATRICK ADAMSON.

David Carnegie of Collathie witness. Alexander Bruce of Earlshal witness.
William Scot of Abbotshal witness. Borthwick of Gordonshal.
William Learmonth. M. William Russell.
Thomas Kingso. M. David Black.
M. Robert Wilkie. M. Andr. Hunter, Scribe
M. Andrew Moncreif. of the Provincial Assembly.

No. C.

Here follows the Account which the Episcopal Party themselves give of the Proceedings of the Scots Bishops and Presbyterian Ministers, mentioned in this Work, before the King at Hampton-Court.

The first Audience was at Hampton-Court the 22 of September; at which, besides the Bishops

'and Ministers from *Scotland*, were present the 'Earls of *Dunbar*, *Argyle*, *Glencarne*, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* Advocate, and Sir *Alexander Straiton*: 'Of the *English* Dr. *Montague* Dean of the Chap- 'pel was only admitted to stay: There the King 'declaring the Purpose for which he had called 'them, spake a few Words to this Effect: That 'having left the Church of *Sopland* in Peace 'at his parting forth of it, he did now bear 'of great Disturbances in the same; whereof 'he desired to understand the true Cause, and to 'have their Advice, how the same might be remov- 'ed. This being, said he, the Errand in general 'for which I have called you, I should be glad to 'hear your Opinions touching the Meeting at *Aber- 'deen*, where an Handful of Ministers, in Contempt 'of my Authority, and against the Discharge given 'them did assemble; and though they were neither 'a sufficient Number, nor the accustomed Order 'kept, they would take upon them to call it a Gene- 'ral Assembly, and have since proudly maintained 'it by declining my Council and such other Means 'as they pleased to use. The rather I would hear 'your Minds, because I am informed that divers 'Ministers do justify that Meeting, and in their 'publick Preachings commend these Brethren as 'Persons distressed, which in Effect is to Proclaim 'me a Tyrant and Persecutor.

'Mr *James Melvill* answering first, said, "That 'there was no such Discharge given to those 'Ministers that met at *Aberdeen*, as was alledged, 'adjoining Sir *Alexander Straiton*, who was said to 'have given the Charge, to declare in his Majes- 'ty's Presence how that Matter was carried. As 'to the Absence of Moderator and Clerk, he said, 'that none of these were essential Parts of an 'Assembly, and that the Moderator absenting 'himself of Purpose and the Clerk refusing to serve, 'the Brethren convened might lawfully create 'others in their Places, so as the Ministers hav- 'ing Warrant to convene from the Word of God, 'and from his Majesty's Laws, as also coming 'thither by Direction of their Presbyteries, he 'could not in his Conscience condemn them.

'Well then, said the King, I shall desire you to 'answer me Three Things, that I will ask: First, 'if it be lawful to pray publicly for Persons con- 'victed by the lawful Judge as Persons being in 'Distress, and afflicted? 2. Whether I may not 'being a Christian King, by my Authority Royal, 'convocate and prorogue, and desert for just and 'necessary Causes known to my self any Assem- 'blies or Meetings within my Dominions? 3. 'Whether or not may I by my Authority call, and 'conven before me and my Council, whatsoever 'Person or Persons, Civil or Ecclesiastical, for 'whatsoever Offences committed by them in what- 'soever Place within my Dominions, and if I may 'not take Cognition of the Offence, and give Sen- 'tence therein? And further, whether or not are 'all my Subjects being cited to answer before me 'and my Council, obliged to compear and acknow- 'ledge me or them for Judges in these Offences?

'Mr. *James* answering, said that the Questions 'were weighty, and craved a great Deliberation; 'wherefore he would humbly entreat his Majesty 'to grant them a Time to confer and advise to- 'gether, that they might all give one direct An- 'swer. This Desire granted, they were command- 'ed to advise and meet together that Night, and 'be ready to answer the next Day. At this Meet- 'ing the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Northampton*, with 'divers of the *English* Clergy were present. The 'Ministers desiring to have the Meeting more pri-

'vate, requested the Earl of *Dumbarre* to move the 'King therein, and that none but *Scotemen* should 'be present; fearing (as they said) that some un- 'seemly Words might escape them. But this was 'denied, and they warned to speak with that Re- 'spect which became Subjects. It was believed 'that the King should have begun with the Ques- 'tions proposed in the former Meeting, but his 'Majesty taking another Course, required them to 'declare one by one, their Judgments touching 'Aberdeen Assembly. The Bishops (being first 'ask'd) did all condemn the Meeting as turbulent, 'factious, and unlawful.

'Mr. *Andrew Melvill* then being enquired made 'Answer, "That he could not condemn the Assem- 'bly, being a private Man; that he came into 'England upon his Majesty's Letter, without any 'Commission from the Church of *Scotland*, and 'though he had Commission in *dicta causa*, and 'not hearing what they could say for themselves, 'he could not give his Judgment; Sentence he said 'was given against them in a Justice-Court; how 'justly, he did remit that to the great Judge; but 'for himself he would say as our Saviour did in 'another Case, *Quis me constituit judicem?*"

'Mr. *James Balfoure* being next asked, "Did 'pray his Majesty not to press him with any An- 'swer, for that he knew nothing would be well 'taken, that proceeded from his Mouth, and that 'Mr. *Andrew* had answered his Mind sufficiently."

'Mr. *James Melvill*, without giving a direct An- 'swer, began to tell, "That since his coming 'to *London* he had received divers Letters, and 'with them a Petition, that should have been pre- 'sented to the late Parliament in behalf of the 'warded Ministers, which he was desired to offer 'unto his Majesty, and as he thought, the Peti- 'tion would make all their Minds known."

'The King taking the Petition and falling to 'read the same, willed the Advocate to go on and 'receive the Answer of the rest. And as the Ad- 'vocate was questioning Mr. *William Scot*, and 'urging him with a distinct Answer (for he used 'many Circumlocutions, according to the Custom) 'Mr. *Andrew Melvill* in a great Passion said, That 'he followed the Instructions of Mr. *John Hamilton* 'his Uncle, who had poisoned the North with his 'Papistry, and what he was now become *scathful* to 'his Majesty. *Northampton* asking what he meant by 'that Speech? The King said, he calleth him, 'the mickle Devil: And then folding up the Peti- 'tion, said, I see you are all set for maintaining 'that base Conventicle of *Aberdeen*? But what 'Answers have you to give to the Questions I 'moved? it was answered, "That they had con- 'ferred together, and finding them to concern the 'whole Church, they would not by their patricu- 'lar Voices prejudice the same." But you will 'not I trust, said the King, call my Authority in 'Question, and subject the Determination of the 'same to your Assemblies. "This they said was 'far from their Thoughts, but if his Majesty should 'be pleased to set down in Writing what he requir- 'ed, they should labour to give him Satisfaction."

'Thus were they dismissed for that Time, and 'being the next Day called before the *Scottish* 'Council (for after this they were no more admit- 'ted to his Majesties Presence) they were enquired, 'whether they had in their publick Prayers prayed 'for the warded Ministers, as Persons afflicted, and 'Sufferers for God's Cause? Some of them confessed 'that they had prayed for them, as Persons in Trou- 'ble, and Distress: Others, that they had commend- 'ed them to God, but remembered not in what Words.

' The 20 of October, they were again brought before the Scots Council, and had the Three Questions delivered to them in Writing; which they were commanded to answer severally: Mean while they were discharged to return into Scotland without his Majesty's License, and prohibited to come towards the Queen and Princes Court. The Bishops and others of the Clergy that assisted them, were permitted to return.

Having thus given a Summary of this eminent Story on one Side, it follows to see how the other Side relates it.

No. D.

Here follows the Account which the Presbyterian Party give of the same Conference, extracted from the Memorials of some of the Persons present, and from *Culderwood's History of the Church*, &c.

' Upon the 22d of September they were sent for to the King, and when they came, they were admitted to the Chamber of Presence, where they were courteously received by the Bishop of *Canterbury*. The King came to the Chamber of Presence, accompanied with the Earls of *Dumbar* and *Orkney*, Lord *Fleming*, the Laird of *Laurestoun*, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* the King's Advocate, Mr. *John Spotswood* Bishop of *Glasgow*, Mr. *George Gladstones* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Mr. *James Law* Bishop of *Orkney*, Mr. *James Nicolson*, Mr. *Robert Howie*, Mr. *Patrik Sharp*, Mr. *Andrew Lamb*. None were suffered to stay within, but the *Scottish* Counsellors and Ministers, except only that of *Montague*, who kepted the Door. The King opened up the Causes, which moved him to write for them, almost conform to the Tenor of the Proclamation, and the Missive sent unto them. In end, he gathered all his Speeches to two Heads, wherein he said, he would be through with them for the Peace of the Church. The one about the pretended General Assembly (so he termed it) holden at *Aberdeen*, and the Proceedings, which followed thereupon. The other, how there might be an ordinary and peaceable Assembly holden, to set all Things in Quietness and good Order. They had agreed among themselves to give no present Answer, but to take all to Advise. Mr. *James Melvill* was chosen to be their Spokesman. After he had expressed, in a complementing Manner, their Joy for his Inclination to intertain Peace, &c. he desired Time to advise; because his Majesty's Letter did bear no Particular, neither heard they of any before that Time. Thereafter there was much Time spent, upon sending of Commissioners from Presbyteries, after receiving of his Majesty's Commissioners Letter, discharging any Assembly to be holden at *Aberdeen*. Item, upon the Proceedings of the Synod of *Fife*; praying for the convicted Brethren in Prison; and upon Mr. *James Melvill's* Letter directed to the Synod of *Fife*. For the present they answered thus much: Many of the Presbyteries had not received Advertisement before the Day; these who had received, considering that there were weightier Reasons for holding the Assembly, than for deserting of it, resolved to send their Commissioners to keep the Day appointed by his Majesty the Law standing, which is the most authentick Testimony that a King can give, as his Majesty himself declared in open Assembly holden at *Dundie*: For the Enemies were bold and busie: Many References, Appellations, and other Matters were lying not taken Order with, which could not be ordered without a General Assembly. The greatest Motive was a Fear to lose the Right and Possession

' of a General Assembly, which would expire of it self, if there were not a set Day appointed. The Words of the Letter, sent by the Synod of *Fife* to other Synods, were, in their Judgment, so conceived, that it could neither prejudice the General Assembly, nor his Majesty's Royal Power, nor the Brethren who were in Ward under his Majesty's Mercy. They confessed, they prayed for the imprisoned Brethren; and professed, they could not omit that Duty to their Brethren, which was extended even to Malefactors for their Amendment. As for Mr. *James Melvill's* Letter, the King said, I heard, Mr. *James*, you wrote a Letter to the Synod of *Fife*, holden at *Couper*, where there was much of Christ, and little good of the King. By God, I trow, ye were raving or mad; for ye speak otherwise now. Was that a charitable Judgment ye had of me? Sir, said Mr. *James*, I was both sore and sick in Body, when I wrote that Letter; but sober and sound in Mind. I assured my self, and the Brethren, that these Articles, a Copy whereof came in my Hands, could not come from your Majesty, they were so strange. Sundry of the Bishops and Commissioners of the General Assembly, that were present, confessed, that many wrong Copies were sent abroad, and some very odious, whereof one might have come in Mr. *James* his Hands. The King, resuming the first two Heads, willed them to advise upon an Answer, against the next Day.

' They were scarce entred into their Lodging at *Kingstoun*, when they received a Letter from Mr. *Alexander Hay*, Secretary for the *Scottish Affairs*, warning them in the King's Name to come to Sermon to morrow. So upon Tuesday the 23d of September, they went to *Hampton-Court*, and sat in the Place appointed for them in the Chapel, the King and Queen being present. Doctor *Buckerage* taught upon *Rom. 13. 1*. He joined Pope and Presbyteries together, diverse Times, as Enemies to the King's Supremacy.

' After Dinner, they resolved upon this Answer to the first Head, which they appointed Mr. *James Melvill* to deliver. They could not judge of the Assembly of *Aberdeen*, for these Reasons. 1. His Majesty had indicted by Proclamation a General Assembly, wherein his Majesty expected a Reparation of all Disorders, in so far as belongeth to the Censures of the Church. If they should now condemn, or resolve, having committed such a Prejudice, they could not be heard. They called to Remembrance his Majesty's Practice, at the Assembly holden at *Montrose*, where the Commissioners of *Lothian* and *Merse* were rejected, upon the like Ground. 2. *Res non erat integra*, but judged already by the Council: But they would be loath to contradict. 3. The Judgment thereof could not appertain to them: *Nam quis constituit eos iudices*? 4. Put the Case they could be Judges, and that the Matter might be committed to them, they could not do it *indicta causa*, & *reis non citatis nec auditis*. But the King took another Course, which was to pose every one in particular, and so to catch Advantage, if it were possible.

' The Ministers were sent for after Dinner. The Prince stood at the King's left Hand, with the abovenamed *Scottish* Noblemen, Counsellors, Bishops, and Commissioners of the General Assembly. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* stood at the King's right Hand, the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Worcester*, *Nottingham*, *Northampton*, Lord *Stenhop*, Lord *Knolles*, and sundry other Noblemen. Some Bishops and Deans stood at the Door,

behind the Tapestry, who now and then discovered themselves. Mr. *Andrew Melvin* desired the Earl of *Dumbar*, to request his Majesty that the *English* might be removed, lest his Majesty should offend at any Thing spoken in a homely Manner in their Presence : But it was not granted. The King, after resuming of the Points left the last Day, came at last to be resolved in this Particular ; whether the Assembly holden lately at *Aberdeen*, was a lawful Assembly, or not ? And whether the Proceedings of the Ministers at it, and afterward, were justifiable, or not ? Mr. *George Gladstones*, *John Spotswood*, *James Law*, *Andrew Lamb*, Bishops ; Mr. *James Nicolson*, *Patrick Sharpe*, *Robert Howie* and *Laurestoun* were first asked, and answered, they ever damned that Assembly, and the Proceedings of these Brethren, as unlawful. Then the King demanded at Mr. *Andrew Melvin*, what say ye ; whether think ye, that where a few Number of Eight or Nine do meet, without any Warrant, wanting the chief Members of an Assembly, as the Moderator and Scribe, convening unmannerly without a Sermon, being also discharged before by open Proclamation, may make an Assembly, or not ? He answered to the first Objection thus ; That in an Assembly of the Servants of Christ, whereof the Number is not prescribed by a Law, it is not lawful for any to disallow thereof for the Number, seeing two or three (which is the smallest Number) convened in the Name of Christ, have the Promise of his Presence, who is their Lord and Ruler. Beside, Rareness maketh not Unlawfulness in an ordinary Meeting, established by Law and Practice. Lastly, all that was done, might lawfully have been done by a fewer Number, authorized with Commission, as they were : For continuation requireth not full Conventions. As for their Warrant. 1. They have Warrant from God's Word. 2. Your Majesty's Laws. 3. Their Presbyteries sent them in Commission to that Effect ; and therefore approved the prorogating of the Day ; which was all they did : And therefore these Presbyteries were to be blamed, if any thing was done amiss, and not the Persons, who were Executors only of their Presbyteries Will and Commission. To the Second he answered, that the Absence of a Moderator and Clerk were not de *essentia* Synodi : And therefore the one, to wit, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, the Moderator of the former Assembly, absenting himself ; the other, to wit, Mr. *Thomas Nicolson* being present, but craving Leave to be absent for that Time, because of his weighty Affairs, they might create others in their Places, according to the Practice of the Church of *Scotland*, as is to be seen in the Register of the General Assembly. To the Third he answered, his Majesty was misinformed : For the ordinary Pastor of *Aberdeen*, to wit, Mr. *James Ross* had a Sermon before the Meeting. As for the pretended Charge, given the Night before, turning himself to *Laurestoun*, he said, I adjure thee, in the Name of the Kirk of *Scotland*, as you will answer before the great God, in the Day that Christ shall appear to judge the Quick and the Dead, to declare the Truth, and to tell, whether there was any such Charge given, or not. *Laurestoun* answered not one Word. Then the King asked, what Reasons he had not to condemn the Ministers. He answered, if it please your Majesty to hear, I have these. 1. I am but a private Man, come upon your Majesty's Letter, without any Commission from the Church of *Scotland* ; and therefore, see-

ing *nemo constituit me judicem*, I cannot take upon me to condemn them. 2. Your Majesty, by Virtue of your Proclamation, dated here at *Hamp-ton-Court* (which he then produced) hath remitted their Trial to the General Assembly, expecting Reparation of wrongs, if any be done : I cannot therefore prejudge the Church and Assembly of my Vote there, which if I give now, I shall be sure to have my Mouth shut up then, as by Experience I and other Brethren have found before. 3. *Res est hactenus judicata* by your Majesty's Council, whether rightly, or not, that I remit to the Lord the Searcher of all Hearts, before whom one Day they must appear, and answer for that Sentence : Shall I then take upon me to contradict your Majesty's Council, and their Proceedings ? I think your Majesty would not be well content with it. Lastly, how can I condemn them *indicta causa*, not hearing their Accusers objecting against them ? This was the Substance of his Answer, which he uttered after his own Manner ; roundly and freely. Mr. *James Balfour*, standing next in Order, was urged to declare his Mind. He answered in Effect as Mr. *Andrew* did. Mr. *James Melvine* answered ; their Proceedings are already censured by your Majesty and Council, wherein I am resolved with the Peril to obtemperate, either by obedience or Patience. If your Majesty be pleased to have it farther judged by an Assembly of the Church, which is our Wish, I cannot prejudge the Judgment of the Church. If in the mean Time your Majesty will urge me to deliver my Judgment of the Matter, according to my Conscience ; unless the Wrongs done to them, and given in Writ to your Majesty's Estates, at the last Parliament holden at *Perth*, be considered and discussed, I would not for all the World condemn them. A Copy of the Wrongs we have earnestly desired of themselves, that we might present them to your Majesty, with this he stepped forward, and delivered them to the King in his Hand. While the rest were sporting, the King read them over, and smiling in discontented Manner, he said, he was glad they were given in. Mr. *Robert Wallace* followed. He regrated some Delations that were given against him, and then answered as the former did. Mr. *William Watson* was sharp against *Laurestoun*, and laid the Burden of all upon him : But he never replied one Word. Mr. *William Scot* delivered his Judgment in few Words, agreeable with these that preceded. The Advocate craved Licence of the King to deal with him : But Mr. *William* had the upper Hand to his Shame. Because much Time was spent, Mr. *John Carmichael* and Mr. *Adam Colt* were desired to be short. They answered in few Words, conform to the rest. Their Harmony moved the *English* and others to Admiration. In end Mr. *Andrew Melvin* brake out, in his own Manner, and plainly avowed the Innocency of the Brethren, in all their Proceedings at *Aberdeen*. Thereafter he recounted the Wrongs done to them at *Lindisgow*, whereof he was an Ear and Eye-Witness. He laid to the Advocate's Charge his favouring and sparing of Papists, his crafty and malicious dealing against the Ministers. So that *καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν* could not have done more against the Saints of God, then ye did at *Lindisgow* against the Ministers. Ye would do God and his Majesty better Service, my Lord, if you bended your Forces and Speeches against your Uncle Mr. *John Hamiltoun* a seminary Priest, and Mr. *Gilbert Broun*, Abbot of *Newabbay*, who have infected a great Part of the Country with Popery. But these Mens

' Heads ye have clapped, and shut up the faithful Servants of Christ in Prison; and still ye shew your self possessed with the same Spirit: For ye think it not enough to have pleaded against them in Scotland, with all the Cunning and Skill ye had, but still continue *αὐθιγὰς τὴν ἀδελφίαν*. At which Words the King turning him about to the Archbishop of Canterbury, said, what is it he saith? I think he is calling him out of the Revelation *Antichrist*; nay, by God, he calleth him the very Devil. Well boured, Brother John, said the King. In end he demanded, what Overture they would give him for the other Point. They answered, their best Overture was to have a free General Assembly, by which all Jars would be removed, and quickly quieted. The King riseth, and they were dismissed, not without great Applause of the English, for their Gravity and Boldness in the Cause of God. The Truth was cleared unto them, which before was obscured by Misreports. What was omitted by one, was remembered by another, every one of them having a pretty Space to advise upon his Answer.

' When the Ministers were gone out of the Palace, and a little on their Way to Kingstown, Mr. Alexander Hay sent for them, readeth to them a Charge from the King, not to return to Scotland, nor to come near the King's, Queen's, or Princes Court, without special Licence and calling for.

' Upon the 24. of September, Mr. Alexander Hay willed them to return to Court with all convenient speed. When they came, he shewed to Mr. James Melvill, that he was directed by his Majesty to crave his Subscription to the Sheet of Paper, which was given in by him to his Majesty concerning the Cause, and Manner of the Delivery. So he gave him it to peruse, which being done Mr. James wrote the Answer, and Manner of the Delivery of them in the Kings Hand. Within an Hour after, the Earle of Glenearne and Mr. John Gordoun came to them, directed from the King, desiring their Answer in Writ, and subscribed, to his Question; what the King may do in Matters Ecclesiastical? And whether or not he had wholly the Power of convening and discharging of Assemblies? They craved the Question to be set down in Writ, and subscribed as from his Majesty, and sufficient Time to advise, and so the Matter deserted at that Time.

' Upon the 28. of September, they were again written for to come to Court. The End was to hear Doctor Andrews Bishop of Excester, who, teaching upon the *Tenth of Numbers*, discoursed upon the Two Trumpets, and proved, as he could, the convening and discharging of Councils and Assemblies to belong to Christian Kings and Emperours.

' At Supper, they were again warned to be at Court, the Day following by Eight a Clock; because the Scottish Council was to deal with them. But when they came, they were willed by the King's express Command, to come to the King's Chappel, namely Mr. Andrew Melvill and Mr. James Melvill. Mr. James warned Mr. Andrew by the Way, that they were to be trapped, and to have their Patience tried. There they saw the King and Queen offer at the Altar, whereupon were set Two Books, Two Basons, and Two Candlesticks with Two Blind Candles. This was a Day solemnly keepest, in Honour of St. Michael. A German being present, said, *ego nunquam vidi talem cultum: nihil hic prefecto deest de solenni missa, præter adorationem consecrati panis*. Upon the Occasion of this Solemnitie, Mr. Andrew Melvill made the Epigram, for which he was afterward troubled.

' That Day afternoon, the Earles of Argyle, Glenearne, Orkney, Wigton, Dumbarton, the Comptroller, the Advocat, the Abbot of Lindores, Mr. Peter Young, the Laird of Kilsyth convened, in the Earle of Dumbarton's Lodging. When the Ministers compeared, Dumbarton shewed unto them, that it was his Majesty's Will, that the Council there convened should deal with them severally, and crave their Answer to certain Heads, whereunto they prayed them to give clear Answers, for Satisfaction of his Majesty, and to go forth, and come in, as they were called on. Mr. James Melvill was first called on, and being demanded by the Advocat, 1. Whether he prayed for the imprisoned Brethren? 2. Whether he allowed the holding of the Assembly at Aberdeen, and the Declination given in to the Council by them who held it? 3. Where was his Letter, written to the Synod of Fife, &c. He answered, I am a free Subject of the Kingdom of Scotland, which hath Laws and Privileges of their own, as free as any Kingdome in the World, to which I will stand. There have been no Summons lawfully execute against me. The Noblemen here present, and I, am not in our own Country. The Charge *super inquirendis* was declared long since to be unjust. I am bound by no Law to accuse my self, neither to furnish Dittay against my self. He desired the Noblemen present to remember what they were; and to deal with him, howbeit a mean man, yet as a freeborne Scottishman, as they would be content to be used themselves, that is, according to the Lawes of the Realme of Scotland. The Advocat notwithstanding urged him to answer, with whom he interchanged some sharp Speeches; and told him, that howbeit he had not studied the Lawes, as he had done, yet he had learned his Logick, and taught it in the Schooles. Will ye not daigne his Majesty with an Answer? said Dumbarton. With all Reverence, said Mr. James, if I might know the Question, and have Time to advise upon a good Answer. Ye shall have that, said Dumbarton; and desired him to give in his Supplication, which the Ministers imprisoned had sent to the King, which Mr. James delivered unto him, and intreated him to present it to the King, and to assist it. He was removed, and the rest were called on by Course. At last Mr. Andrew Melvill was called, and told them plainly, they knew not what they were doing; they had degenerated from the ancient Nobilitie of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their Lives and Lands, for the Freedom of their Country, and the Gospel, which they were betraying and overturning. Night drawing on they were dismissed.

' Upon the Thirtieth of September, they were again called on to Sermon. Doctor King had a most virulent Invective against the Presbyteries, crying to the King, down, down with them.

' Upon the Second of October, the Eight Ministers were again called before the Scottish Councillours. Three Articles were delivered to them in Writ, whereunto they were called to give Answer in Writ, every one of them severally; and to take as much Time to advise, as they pleased, and indeed the chief Drift was to drive Time, till the Convention at Linlithgow were past. It was permitted to them to go where they pleased, provided they went not far from Court, and made the Place of there Abode known, that they might be found, when it pleased his Majesty. The Tenor of the Articles, subscribed by Mr. Alexander Hay, here followeth.

' 1. Whether they had not transgressed their

'Dutie, in making publick Prayers for the Brethren in Ward, as being afflicted : And are willing to crave his Majesty's Favour for the same ; seeing their said Brethren abide in ward for just Causes, and by a just Sentence of a lawful Judge, standing unquarrelled and unreduc'd ?

'2. Whether they acknowledge his Majesty by the Authoritie of his Prerogative Royal, as a Christian King, to have lawful and full Power to convocat, prorogat, and cause desert, upon just and necessary Causes known to him, the Assemblies of the Kirk, within his Majesty's Dominions.

'3. If his Majesty by his Authoritie Royal, hath not sufficient and lawful Power to call, and convene before him and his Council, whatsoever Person or Persons, Civil or Ecclesiastical, for whatsoever Faults, and give Sentence thereanent ? And if all his Majesty's Subjectes be astricted to compare before his Majesty and Council, to answer, acknowledge and obey his Majesty and Councils Judgment, in the said Offences ? 2. October 1606.

'The Articles abovementioned, appointed by his Majesty's Council to be delivered out of my Hand to the Ministers abovementioned, by his Majesty's special Commandment.

Alexander Hay.

'Upon the Fourth of November, Mr. William Soot and Mr. John Carmichael went to Westminster, and conferred with Mr. James Nicholson, whom they found to be a Man far changed, and resolved to accept the Bishoprick of Dunkelden, bought to him by the King from Mr. Peter Rollock for Twenty Thousand Pounds. They delivered to him their Answers to the Three Articles, and with all their Grievance, which the King desired them to give up. They agreed in Substance ; howbeit some were more ample than others. Mr. James Melvaine answered thus.

'With all Submission, Humilitie, and Reverence to the King's Majesty, and with all hearty Affection to his Grandour, James Melvaine giveth Answer to the Questions proponed by his Majesty's most honourable Council.

1. 'I cannot conceive a Transgression of Dutie, in praying for our Brethren, the Command and Warrant being so clear in the Word of God, 1 Tim. 2. 1. 1 John 5. 16. Heb. 13. 3. And if I could conceive any ; prostrat at his Majesty's Feet, I would most willingly crave Pardon and Favour.

2. 'The Lawes of the Realme, the Judgment, Practice and Constitution of our Kirk are clear hereanent ; and if there remaine any doubt, let it be resolved in the next General Assembly, to the which by the whole Synod it is referred.

3. 'The Third is Civil, for the most Part of many Interrogations ; and cannot therefore be simply answered ; and if to be doubted of, it is to be resolved by Lawyers and the Estates of the Realme. And as for judging of Ministers in Matters meerly Spiritual or Ecclesiastical, such as concerne their Calling, and Points of their Ministrie, which they have of and in Christ Jesus, and of his Kirk allanerly, together with the Jurisdiction of the Kirk, what it is, and how it differeth from the Jurisdiction and Power of Civil Magistrates, the Statutes of the Realme, the Judgment, Practice and Constitutions of our Kirk, the Kings Majesty's Declaration at Linlithgow, and at diverse General Assemblies, are most clear and evident ; to which I stand, till God teach my Conscience better. Protesting before that great God of Heaven and Earth, that if I thought it not a Sinne against

'Christ, the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, and so most dangerous to the Kings Majesty's Person, Crown and Estate, to ascribe and give any farther to him, there is none living would be gladder, according to his Abilitie, for avouching, maintaining and standing for the same to the uttermost, than poor James Melvaine.

No. E.

The first Commission of the King, called, The High Commission.

James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to our Lovits, &c. Messengers, our Sheriffs in that Part conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting. Forsamekile as Complaint being made to us, in the Behalf of the Ministrie of this our Kingdom, that the frequent Advocations, purchased by such as were either erroneous in Religion, or scandalous in Life, not only discouraged the Ministrie from censuring of Vice ; but emboldened the Offenders to continue in their Wickedness, using their Advocations as a Mean to delay and disappoint both Trial and Punishment : We, for eschewing of this inconvenient, and that the Number of true Professors may be known to increase, the Antichristian Enemie and his Growth suppressed, and all sorts of Vice, and scandalous Life punished ; and that neither Iniquitie, nor Delay of Trial and Punishment, be left by this subterfuge, or discouraging of Ecclesiastical Censures to proceed, in Things so meet and proper for them, have, out of our Dutie to God, and Love to his Kirk, being the Nourish-Father of the same in Earth, within our Dominions, given Power and Commission to the Reverend Father in God, and our trustie and welbeloved Counsellour George Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primat and Metropolitan of our Kingdom, and to our right truste cusine and Counsellor Alexander Earle of Dumfermline Lord high Chancellour of this our Kingdom, George Earle of Dumbar Treasurer, George Earle Marchal, John Earle of Mar, John Earle of Montrose, Patrick Earle of Kinghorne, to the Reverend Fathers in God, Alexander Bishop of Dunkelden, Peter Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Bishop of Murray, Andrew Bishop of Brechin, David Bishop of Ross, George Bishop of Dumblane, Alexander Bishop of Cuthness, and James Bishop of Orkney : To our trustie Cusins and Counsellours

Lord Lindsey, Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat, David Lord of Soons ; and to our trustie and welbeloved Counsellours Mr. John Prestoun of Pennicook President of our Colledge of Justice, Sir Richard Cockburne of Clerkington Knight Lord Privie-Seal, Sir Alexander Hay Knight our Secretarie, Sir James of Kingaskon Comptroller, Sir Thomas Hamiltoun of Binning Knight our Advocate, and to our lovitt Sir David Carnegie of Kinnard Knight Dundas of that ilk, Alexander Irving of Drumme,

Ramsey of Balmaine, Mr. John Arthure, Mr. Thomas Henrison, Mr. Adam King and Mr. James Bannatyne Commissars of Edinburgh, Mr. John Weemes, Commissar of St. Andrews, Mr. James Martine Rector of the Universitie of St. Andrews, Mr. Robert Howie Principal of the new Colledge there, Mr. David Monipennis Dean of Facultie, Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. John Hall, Mr. Peter Hewat, Mr. John Muckelson, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. John Strauchan, Mr. Andrew Leitch, Mr. Henry Philip, Mr. Arthure Futhie, and Mr. Patrick Lindsey Ministers, or to any Five of them, the Archbishop being always one, within the whole Bounds

of the Province of *St. Andrews*. And to the Reverend Father in God, and our trustie and welbelovéd Counsellor *John* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *Alexander* Earle of *Dumfries*, *George* Earle of *Dumbar*, *John* Earle of *Cassils*, *James* Earle of *Glencarne*, *John* Earle of *Wigtoun*, *James* Earle of *Abercorne*; and to the Reverend Fathers in God *Gavin* Bishop of *Galloway*, *John* Bishop of *Argyle*, *Andrew* Bishop of *the Isles*; and to our trustie Cousine and Counsellour *Walter* Lord of *Blantyre*, and to our Lovits *Mr. John* *Arthur*, *Mr. Thomas* *Harrison*, *Mr. Adam* *King*, *Mr. James* *Bannatine* Commissars of *Edinburgh*, *David* *Forsyth* Commissar of *Glasgow*, *Mr. James* *Halyday* Commissar of *Dumfries*, *Mr. John* *Hammitoun* Commissar of *Hammitoun*, *Mr. J. Hammitoun*, Commissar of *Lanerk*, *Sir George* *Eldhinstoun* of *Eastwood* Knight, *Mr. Patrick* *Sharpe* Principal of the Colledge of *Glasgow*, *Mr. William* *Birnie*, Minister at *Lanerk*, *Mr. John* *Hay* Parson of *Ransfrew*, *Mr. James* *Hammitoun* Dean of *Glasgow*, *Mr. David* *Sharpe*, and *David* *Walkinshaw* Subdean of *Glasgow*, *Mr. Thomas* *Ramsey* Minister at *Dumfries*, *Mr. John* *Bell* Minister at *Glasgow*, and *Mr. Walter* *Stewart* Minister at or any Five of them, the said Archbishop being always one, within the whole Bounds of the Province of *Glasgow*; To call before them, at such Times and Places as they shall think meet, any Person or Persons, dwelling or remaining within their Provinces respective abovescriben, of *St. Andrews* or *Glasgow*, or within any Diocies of the same, being Offenders either in Life or Religion, whom they held any ways to be scandalous; and that they take Trial of the same, and if they find them guiltie and impenitent, refusing to acknowledge their Offences, they shall give Command to the Preachers of that Parish where they dwell, to proceed with the Sentence of Excommunication against them, which if it be protracted or delayed, and if their Command by that Minister be not presently obeyed, they shall convene any such Minister before them, and proceed in censuring of him for his Disobedience, either by Suspension, Deprivation, or Warding, according as in their Discretion they shall hold his Obstinacie, and refuse of their Direction, to have deserved. And farther, to fine at their Discretions, imprison or ward any such Persons, who being convicted before them, they shall finde upon Trial to have deserved any such Punishment: And a Warrant under the Hand of any Five abovenamed, of every Province respective abovescriben, the said Archbishop of the Province being one, shall serve for a sufficient Command for the Captains, Constables of our Wards and Castles, and to all Keepers of Ales and Prisons, either in Burgh, or Land, in any Part of the Provinces respective abovescriben, for receiving and detaining such Persons, as shall be unto them directed to be kept by them, in such Form as by the said Warrant shall be prescribed, as they will answer upon the contraire at their Perils: And of all such Fines, as shall be imposed upon any Offender, the one Half to pertain to Our self, and the other Half to be employed upon such necessarie Things, as our said Commissioners shall be forced unto, by charging of Parties and Witnesses to compare before them, and the superplus to be bestowed at the Sight of the said Commissioners, by Distribution among the Poor: Commanding the Lords of our Privie Council, upon Sight of any Certificate, subscribed by any Five of the said Commissioners within every Province, as said is, the said Archbishop of the Province being one, either of any Fine imposed by them upon any Party comparing, and found

guiltie; or of the Contumacie and Refusal of any to compare before them, that the said Lords of our Privie Council direct a summar Charge of hording upon Ten Days only; and that no Suspension, nor Relaxation be granted, without first a Testificat under the Hand of the Archbishop of the Province, containing the Obedience and Satisfaction of the Partie charged, be produced. And in case of farther Disobedience or Rebellion of the Partie, who shall be charged for his Fine, or not Comparance, the said Lords of our Council are then to prosecute the most strict Order, as is usual against Rebels for any Cause whatsoever; with Power to our said Commissioners to proceed herein: As also to take Trial of all Persons, that have made Defection, or otherwise are suspected in Religion; and as they find any just Cause against them, to proceed in Manner foresaid. And also whensoever they shall learn or understand of any Minister, Preacher, or Teacher of Schools, Colledges, or Universities, or of exhorting or lecturing-Readers, within these Bounds, whose Speeches in publick have been impertinent, and against the established Order of the Kirk, or against any of the Conclusions of the bypast General Assemblies, or in favour of any of those, who are banished, warded, or confined for their contemptuous Offences; which being no Matter of Doctrine, and so much idle Time spent without Instruction of their Auditorie in their Salvation, ought so much the more severely to be punished; in Regard that they are Ministers, who of all others should spend least idle Talk, and specially in the Chair of Veritie: And therefore after the calling of them before the said Commissioners, they are to be questioned and tried upon the Points of that which is laid against them, and punished according to the Qualitie of their Offence: And whereas Complaint shall be made unto them by any Partie, that shall be convened before any Ecclesiastical Judicatorie, for any such Crime as he shall be then suspected of, or that the Partie doth alledge always the Matter it self to be improper to their Judicatorie, or the Proceeding to have been informal, or that the Judicatorie it self hath been too partial; and when the Commissioners shall see any just Cause, they are then to take Trial and Cognition thereof themselves, and to discharge the said Judicatorie of all farther Proceeding. Giving Power also to the said Commissioners to make Choise of a Clerk, and other Members of Court; and to direct Precepts in Name of the said Archbishop and his Associates within every Province, for Citation of any Parties before them, within the Bounds of the said Provinces, in any of the said Causes abovementioned; which Precepts to be sealed with a special Seal, containing the Armes of the said Bishoprick. Giving also Power to charge Witnesses to compare before them, under the Pain of Fourtie Pounds *Scottish* Money; and upon the Certificat of the said Commissioners, that any of the said Penalties are incurred by them, the said Lords of our Council are to direct the like Charges for Payment of the same, as is appointed for the Fines, as in the said Commission past our great Seal, containing diverse other Heeds, Clauses, Articles and Conditions, and bearing Date at our Court at *Roy-stoun* the 20. Day of *January* last, at length is contained; whereof necessarie it is that Publication be made to all our Lieges, that none pretend Ignorance thereof. OUR WILL IS herefore, and we charge you straitly, and command, that incontinent these our Letters seen, ye pass to the said Burrowes, within the Provinces abovescriben, and there by open Proclamation that ye make Publication of the

Premises, that none pretend Ignorance. And also that ye, in our Name and Authority, command and charge all our Lieges and Subjects to reverence and obey our said Commissioners, in all and every Thing tending to the Execution of this our Commission, and to do nothing to their Hinder

or Prejudice, as they and each one of them will answer to Us and our Council, upon their Obedience at their highest Charge and Peril. The which to do, &c. Given under our Signet at *Edinburgh*, the Fifteen of *February*, and of our Reigne the 47. Year 1610. *Per Actum Secreti Concilij.*

PART III.

OF THE CHURCH IN HER PERSECUTED STATE.

Bishop *Spotswood* in his History of *Scotland* says, That the PERSECUTION of *Dioclesian*, was a great means to farther the first Propagation of the GOSPEL in *Scotland*; which Persecution being but in the South Parts of BRITAIN, it brought a great many CHRISTIANS, as well Preachers as Professors, into *Scotland*, where they were kindly received by King *Crastilinth*, and the Isle of *Man* given them for their Retreat, where he erected a magnificent Church, and called it, THE TEMPLE OF OUR SAVIOUR. This is said to be in the Year, 277.

Like Instances might be found in all the Tracts of Antiquity from thence to the present Time, where Persecution has spread and establish'd the True Religion; but no where so eminently, as the Persecutions of PRESBYTERIANS has done in *Scotland*.

It was with Respect to the several Troubles, Divisions, Wars, and Interruptions, which the Establishment of the Church of *Scotland* met with, even in her most flourishing Condition, that the last Part of this Work was call'd, *The growing Estate of the Church*.

I would have been very well pleased to have call'd it, *The compleat, or finish'd State*, and to have represented the Church in the Perfection of her Desires, arriv'd to the Top of her own Views, and in the full Enjoyment of her just Privileges, supported by her own Power, and the Majesty of her Constitution.

But the Divine Wisdom which has always thought fit to exercise his Church with Tribulation and Affliction, as the best Foundation whereon to build her temporal Establishment, had otherwise determin'd; and all that Strength which the Church of *Scotland* had gain'd in the short Intervals of Peace which she had enjoy'd, in the last Period of her Circumstances, was little enough to carry her thro' the fiery Tryal she had now to endure.

No sooner was the Restoration of K. *Charles II.* brought to pass in *England*, but the Enemies of the Church of *Scotland* began to lift up their Heads, and the black Cloud which did but hover over them, as it were for a while, and threaten'd them with Destruction, being big with Storms and furious Thunders, broke upon them all at once.

There had some Things pass'd in the *English* Parliament, which had deeply affected the People of *Scotland*, and had given them a clear View of what they were to expect, tho' it was not yet fallen upon them, and this is what I mean by the black Cloud which hover'd over them for a while.

These were (1) The declaring the *Solemn League and Covenant* to be unlawful, and obliging all People who held any Office, &c. to subscribe to the said Declaration, 13 Car. 2, cap. 1. (2) The Act of Uniformity, and by which the Episcopal Hier-

archy in *England* was restored, and the Ministers who would not conform to the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* before *Bartholomew Day*, 1662, were depriv'd of their Livings, 13 Car. 2, cap. 11.

These were Preludes to what was to be expected in *Scotland*, and yet albeit, the Acts in *England* were made before those in *Scotland*, yet the Privy Council or Council of State in *Scotland*, took upon them to begin with the *Presbyterians* as soon, or rather sooner, than the Parliament in *England* began there: So that the Church of *Scotland* saw early what they had to expect; and thus we are led, without any other Need of Introduction, into the History of Fact.

When the King was restor'd, the Church of *Scotland* was in its best and fullest Possession of Legal Power. The Professors of the *Presbyterian* Doctrine, had by their Adherence to the Royal Family, laid in as good a Loan of Obligation upon the Generosity of the King, as any Party in their Circumstances could have done: And if but the Interest of that Debt had been paid, or, if Gratitude had been the Fashion of the Times, they had some Reason to expect a little Consideration to be had for them.

It was indeed upon some Expectation of such a Return, that immediately, on the first News of the King's Restoration, the Ministers in Conjunction with some of the Nobility and Gentry, resolv'd to present a Paper to him, which was call'd, *A Monitory Supplication*. It was a new Term, perhaps, made for the Occasion: And they did the *Presbyterians* much Wrong, who told King *Charles*, that it was a *Minatory Supplication*; for the Contents of it prove the contrary, which are too long for the Brevity of this Tract, but in a Word, is contained as follows,

I. A very hearty and solemn Congratulation of his Majesty's Restoration to the Throne of his Ancestors, recognizing his Right, and extolling the Goodness of God, in returning him to his People, praying, that it may be a Blessing to his Majesty and the whole Nation, and assuring him of their ready and dutiful Submission to his Authority.

II. Reminding his Majesty with great Humility of his COVENANT Engagement, mark that, to God, and the Nation, and his solemn Promises to put forward the Work of REFORMATION in the Kingdom, as the only Thing in which his Majesty might expect the Blessing of God upon his Reign and upon his People.

This *Supplication* was never presented, nay, it was not sign'd by many of the Persons who had

promoted and recommended it: But while it was a meer Embrio the Council of State sent their Officers, and as if it had been an Act of Rebellion, surpriz'd and seiz'd upon such as they had Information were concerned in it, and clapt them in Prison, having no other Pretence against them but this *Supplication*, which they told them, was seditious, and tended to disquiet the Minds of the Leiges, and render his Majesty's Government uneasy to them. Most of those they seiz'd upon were Eminent Ministers.

It was alledged by the Persons that were thus taken up, That there was no Law against supplicating their Prince, and that where there was no Law there could be no Transgression; that they had not acted unpeaceably or undutifully to his Majesty in any Thing, and desir'd to know upon what Law they were committed to Prison: The Council let them know, no other Law at that Time but their Arbitrary Pleasure, against which the poor Gentlemen had no Remedy but Submission.

And this was the first Article of Persecution in that Reign (*viz.*) *Imprisoning without a Law*, a Thing they reduc'd into a most general Practice presently after.

The Government themselves acknowledged the Injustice of this afterwards by procuring an Unrighteous Law, to be made to take away the Subjects Liberty of Petitioning the Sovereign, declaring it Unlawful and Seditious, *Vid.* 2 *Sess.* of the 2d Parliament of King Charles 2. *Act* 32. by which Act, even Prisoners were deny'd the Liberty to Petition for their Deliverance; nay, or a Condemned Person for his Pardon, or his Life; a cruelty scarce heard of in any Nation before; which made many good People afterwards endure the most intollerable Cruelties in their Imprisonment, for fear of having them Doubled by the Crime of Petitioning for Mercy: But this was but the beginning of the Afflictions of the Church of Scotland.

In the beginning of the Year 1661. the First Parliament of King Charles II. Sate down, and that they might lay a Ground Plot of that Bloody Persecution, which they had resolv'd to raise, so they immediately applied themselves to make such Laws, and make void such already made, as they well knew would be intollerable to the *Presbyterians*: They knew, the *Presbyterians* would neither obey the one or bear the other, and consequently would render themselves obnoxious to the Penalties and Punishment of those Laws, and give the People in Power a sufficient Pretence for falling upon them, with all that Violence and Inhumanity, which they had resolv'd to treat them with.

To bring the Account into some Method, it will be needful at once to give a Detail of these Persecuting Laws, as they came to be made, or at least of so many of them, as were made upon these Occasions: And this I shall do in Order to enter into the History of the Suffering of the People in the Consequence of those Laws, the more regularly: And this Method I shall repeat again, as other and subsequent Laws were made for the like purposes.

Some of the several New Laws, made after the Restoration, which were the beginning of the persecution were as follows.

1. Act Imposing the Oath of Supremacy: This was directly contrary to the *Presbyterian* Principle.

Note. This was the very first Act pass'd after the Restoration, and it was call'd the Oath of Allegiance, only to render the refusing it the more odious, but it contained also the Oaths of Supremacy in express Words, and without the

Antient Limitations formerly granted. 1 *Act*. 1. *Par.* K. Char. 2.

2. Act Obliging all People in Office, to acknowledge the Prerogative of the King, *Note*, this was in such Terms, as they had then advanc'd; above and against all former Engagements, and which they knew Conscientious People could not comply with.

3. Act Declaring Void, and Dissolving the Obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant. This the Nation having Sworn to, the good People could not be convinc'd, that an Act of Parliament could dispence with the Obligation of their Oath, in the Sight of God; and therefore chose Death, rather than comply with it, *Par.* 1. *Sess.* 1. *Act*. 11. *Car.* 11.

4. Act Declaring the National Covenant, to be an Unlawful Oath, and that the same is not of any Force to bind those that have taken it. *Par.* 1. *Sess.* 2. *Act*. 2. *Cha.* 11.

5. An Act not of Parliament, but of Council, to burn both the said Covenants, by the Hand of the common Hangman.

6. Act to restore Episcopacy in Scotland: Striking at the Root of the *Presbyterian* Church, and Overthrowing all the Settlement and Establishment of the said Church at one blow.

First Act of the Second Session of the first Parliament of King Charles I. Anno 1662.

It may be truly said, that some of these Acts not only surpriz'd the *Presbyterians*, but even fill'd the whole Nation with Horror, partly at the Unheard of Attack made upon the Solemnity of the National Covenant, which most People there Esteem'd Sacred, and wondred how their Temporal Power, or indeed any Power upon Earth could take upon them to Discharge the People of the Obligation of an Oath; and partly at the Dreadful Things, which they evidently foresaw would be the Consequence of such Proceedings.

It is not my business here to enter into the Question, whether the Parliament could dispence with the Obligation of this Oath or no, much less will I offer, till I see the Affirmative better proved, to Condemn the Opinion of those, who think the Nation of Scotland guilty by that Act of a most horrid National Perjury.

Having gone this length on the one side, let us see what Course the poor People took, who were to suffer for the least Step they took in Opposing these furious Proceedings.

The first Thing I find which the Government laid any hold on, was the Ministers Preaching against them: This was the least Thing they could expect, and yet for some Time was the greatest Opposition they met with, and which way to deal with this they hardly knew; for it would seem exceeding Tyrannical, to Attack the Ministers for Words spoken in their Pulpits, which it would be hard to ascertain, and against which there was yet no Law: Besides having put so many hardships already upon them, it seem'd very unlikely, but these losers would have leave to speak, and very hard to deny it.

But they soon got over this: and being resolv'd to use no Ceremony, but to fall upon the Kirk by all the violent Methods they could Devise, they published a Proclamation, *Discharging* as they call it, that is, prohibiting and forbidding *Every one to speak against the Proceedings of the State*.

This open'd a Door to fall upon the Ministers, for many of them being Zealous for the Reformation, and for the Covenant, which they believed was an *Oath of God*, and could not be Dissolv'd by Man; could not therefore in Conscience but declare against the Attempt made in the aforesaid Law, to set up

the Power of Man, to dispense with the Authority of God : For maintaining this and opposing the Act of the Kings Supremacy, a Thing which they believ'd was no less than a Rebellion against the Regal Authority of Christ Jesus, the only Head and Government of his Church ; Many of the Ministers were Imprison'd, and some without Hearing, or leave given them to make their Defence were *Indicta Causa*, Sentenc'd to Banishment.

The Number of these was Seven at one Time, they were not indeed sent or Transported to any particular Place into Slavery, as was afterwards practised. But they were obliged by Sentence, to quit the Country in a certain Time, upon pain of Death, and never to return upon the like Penalty ; and accordingly they took Shipping for *Holland*, to the great Grief of their Flocks, who mourned for the loss of them, being left destitute as Sheep without a Shepherd ; but one was singled out from the rest to bear his Testimony against them in another manner ; this was Mr. *James Guthrie* the *Proto-Martyr* of this Persecution, who was Condemn'd to Death, and accordingly was Hang'd at *Edinburgh* as a Traytor ; whose Behaviour during his Imprisonment and Tryal, before those Tyrannical Judges, and afterwards at the place of Execution, might have convinc'd them, that the Blood of these Men, would be the Seed of the Church of *Scotland*, and that Torments and Death, would not weaken the Cause of Religion in *Scotland*, or advance them one step towards the Conquest they aim'd at.

Having now Tasted Blood, their Fury seem'd to encrease, and now in Consequence of the Act for restoring Prelacy mention'd before, they advanc'd such Principles as they knew were directly contrary to the *Presbyterian* Doctrine, and such as they knew no Bonds, no Affliction, no nor Death it self, would ever bring them to comply with.

These were,

1. A Declaration in the Preamble to the Act for Establishing Episcopacy, signifying, that the *Disposal of the Government of the Church, is in the King, as an Inherent Right of the Crown.*

2. Depriving the Church of the Freedom of Calling and Chusing their own Pastors : This was included in an Act for restoring Patronages.

3. Dispossessing the Ministers, who would not Conform to Episcopacy, and this without Legal Prosecution, by a meer Act of Council, pass'd in *October, 1662.*

I think it is very necessary to set down these first Measures of the Persecutors of the Church, in Order to remove a certain Slander raised by the Enemies of these poor Suffering Christians, and which too many good People are Prepossess'd in this Nation, (*viz.*) that the *Scots Presbyterians* suffer'd upon Trifling Punctilio's, not Essential to Religion, or upon Points which the Christian Church have in all Ages submitted to, even under the Government of Heathen Emperors and the like ; such as acknowledging the King, Swearing Allegiance to him, living peaceably, paying Taxes, Tythes, &c. Whereas on the contrary it is Evident, that the Sufferings of the Church of *Scotland*, and the Persecution which her Faithful Confessors have Labour'd under, have been occasion'd for maintaining the Essential Points, both of Doctrine and Government, which she has held ever since the Reformation, and without which no true Church can be Established, (*viz.*) Such as the refusing all Usurpations upon the Sovereignty of Christ, as King and Head of his Church, in Opposition to Erastianism, and Episcopal Supremacy. (2.) The Insupportable Yoke of what they call'd Unscriptural Prelacy, which neither

they or their Fathers were able to bear. (3.) The right of calling their own Ministers in Opposition to the Pretences of Lay Patronages, &c. and the like, and (4) for Opposing the Tyranny and Injustice, of the Proceedings of those in Power, who Condemn'd Men unheard ; Sentenc'd Men at Pleasure, without Examining into the Facts, or hearing Legal Witnesses ; and punish'd Men to Death, for such Crimes as were not punishable with Death, by the Laws of the Land.

These and such as these, were the Points upon which the People of *Scotland* suffer'd the most Bloody Persecution, that has been heard of in this Age, or for the last 100 Years pass'd in the World. The Persecution of the *Protestants in France*, being in proportion to this Country, and the Number of People, and the Blood spilt, no way to compare to it.

But to come now to the Suffering Party : The Government having thus by their Unrighteous Laws, made way for all the Oppressions which they design'd, having Established Prelacy, and Dispossess'd the *Presbyterian* Ministers of their Kirks, filling their Places with a Race of Men, who for Ignorance and Wickedness, were scarce to be equal'd in the World ; I mean as Ministers. The poor People were immediately scatter'd and dispers'd in a Dreadful manner : The new Set of Men, were so weak in Capacity, and so abominable in their known Practice and Conversation, (speaking without the least prejudice of the most of them,) that the People abhorr'd to hear them, or to come into the Churches where they were.

This occasion'd them to follow their own Ministers, tho' Dispossess'd, into private Places and Corners, and to hear the Word Preached, and have their Ordinances Administred in private Houses and Meetings, as was soon after the practise in *England*, by the Dissenters here.

The Ministers on the other Hand, thinking it their Duty not to forsake their People, kept themselves Concealed and Retired, and went from House to House, Preaching and Praying, Visiting, Baptizing, and in a Word performing all the Duties of their Office, as opportunity would allow.

This the Episcopal Party could not bear ; and therefore in the first place, fell to their former custom of making Laws against it in Parliament, and Enforcing those Laws by Proclamations, and Acts of Council, which they soon brought to be of equal Force with Acts of Parliament, tho' by Law it was quite otherwise, *Vid. 3d. Act 1. Sess. 1. Par. Car. II. Entitled ACT Asserting his Majesty's Royal Prerogative in making Laws.*

These Laws against Non-Conformity, are so Extraordinary, and Savour'd so much of a true Spirit of Persecution, were in themselves so Unjust, and in some things so Unnatural, that none can wonder if the Execution of them sometimes, drove the poor People to Desperation, and made, as in far less moving Cases has been said, *Nature Rebel against Principle*, and drove the People, made thus Distracted by their oppressions to Tumult and Rebellion.

And because they have in these Things, also been rashly censur'd by some among us, as a People suffering as Evil doers. It must be useful in their Vindication, to expose a little the Inhumanity and Barbarity of their Persecutors ; and this can be done in nothing better than in giving a Brief Account of the Laws now made ; which they expected, and rigorously exacted Obedience to ; and which it was impossible for that Poor People to obey, without making Shipwreck of Faith and a good

Conscience, abandoning their Profession, Inverting the Rule of the Apostle, and obeying Man rather than God.

These Acts are as follow.

'1. ACT discharging, *i. e.* *forbidding* all Writing, Remonstrating, Printing, Praying or Preaching in such manner as should shew any dislike, (1) Of the King's Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastick, (2) Of the Kings absolute Prerogative, in appointing such Government of the Church as he thought fit, and (3) Of the Government of the Church by Bishops : *Act. 2. Sess. 2. Parl. 1. Carol. 2.*

'2. ACT Prohibiting any Ministers to Preach in Churches Publickly ; or Privately in Families, without Licence first had from the Episcopal Ministers call'd Curates, and forbidding all House Meetings for Religious Exercise. *Act. 4. Sess. 2. Parl. 1. Car. 2.*

Both these Acts were so directly contrary to the Principles of the *Presbyterians*, and it was so well known, that they could not in Conscience comply with them, that they were very justly call'd the persecuting Laws, together with the following Act, which gave the Finishing Stroke to the rest, *viz.*

'3. ACT Declaring, that all Non Conforming Ministers that shall presume to Exercise their Ministry in any manner whatsoever, shall be Punished as Seditious Persons ; requiring all Persons in Obedience to his Majesty's Government Ecclesiastick, to give their Countenance to the Establish'd Worship, by attending, &c. Ordaining Penalties to all that should withdraw from the Publick Worship, as follows, *viz.*

'Every Nobleman, Gentleman, or Heretor, one fourth part of his Yearly Revenue.

'Every Yeoman, one fourth part of his Moveable Goods.

'Every Burgess the loss of his Freedom, or Burgh Ship, and a fourth part of his Moveable Goods.

Leaving it also to the Council, to Inflict farther Punishment, and to provide for the most effectual Execution, which they did by Proclamations, of the most Arbitrary, Illegal, and Tyrannical Nature imaginable, *viz.*

'Proclamation requiring all to keep to their Parish Churches, under Penalty of 20 s. every Omission ; they knowing at the same time, the poor People could not in Conscience spend the Lords Day in such a manner.

'Proclamation Prohibiting all Preaching, Praying, or hearing in Families, if above Three, more than the Domesticks of the Family were present ; punishing those who had more, as Unlawful Conventicles.

'Proclamation appointing all such Meetings not Authorised, as aforesaid, to be punished either by Pecuniary or Corporal Punishments, at the pleasure of the Council.

'Proclamation Commanding Landlords, Masters of Families and Magistrates, to cause their Tenants, Children, Servants, Dependents, Taxmen, or Farmers of Duties and Revenue, and all under their Charge, to Submit and Conform to the Episcopal Government and Worship, and making the said Landlords, &c. answerable for the Default of their Servants, &c. the Punishment here also being left to the pleasure of the Council.

Note, They reserv'd here the Cruelty of Punishment to themselves ; to be inflicted, not as the Laws or the Nature of the Offence should Direct, but as the Person who they should have before them, stood more or less in or out of their Favour.

Now to finish all, and Enforce these Laws and

Proclamations, the King Erected a High Commission Court, consisting of a Medley of Clergy, Nobility, Magistrates and Soldiers. This Body were Empower'd to hear and determine Causes, without Appeal, to Execute Civil and Ecclesiastick Authority ; they could Suspend and Deprive Clergy Men ; Excommunicate like Bishops ; Commit to Prison like Justices of the Peace ; Sentence like Judges ; and put to Torture and Death like *Hangmen* : In a Word, as a known *Scots* Author calls them, they were a Hotch-potch-Mongrel-Monster of a Judicatory, Authoriz'd by the Prerogative, against the Laws of GOD and MAN, Illegal in its Constitution, and Arbitrary in its Procedure, whereby Persons brought before them, were made to Answer *SUPER INQUIRENDIS*, without either Accusation or Accuser, contrary to an Express standing Law, *Act. 13. Parl. 10. Jac. vi.*

It is scarce to be related, what Innumerable Oppressions fell upon the People, but especially upon the poor Ministers, in the Prosecution of these Laws ; for the Ministers finding themselves bound in Conscience, not to abandon their Flocks, for any Persecution or Bodily Sufferings whatsoever, exposed themselves freely to the worst that their Enemies could do, and failed not at the greatest and utmost Hazard, to discharge their Duty ; and the People flocking after them, they Preached to them with what Privacy and Caution they were able, but at the Extreamest Hazard. Nor was it possible, but that many would be daily falling into the Hands of their Persecutors ; insomuch, that the Prisons were every where full of Faithful Ministers ; whereof abundance dyed, thro' the length of their Confinement, and severity of their Usage ; some thro' Cold and Evil Lodging, having Contracted Diseases and Infirmities, and others for want of Conveniences, and even Necessaries ; whose Blood is no doubt to be Esteem'd, as shed in the Cause of Religion, as much as if they had been brought out to Execution, as several of their Brethren afterwards were.

By this Scandalous Judicatory, call'd the High Commission Court, many Innocent Men, as well Ministers as others, were prosecuted even after a manner, near a Kin to the *Spanish* Inquisition ; and as an Author well observes, having no other Precedent in the *Christian* World, but the said *Spanish* Inquisition, being neither suffred to know their Crimes or their Accuser ; never suffred to come to a Hearing, or to make any Legal Defence. But when they demanded their Accusation, or Judicature indictment, and leave to Answer to the same, they were told they could not be admitted to any Defence, unless they would first take the Oath by which they were to acknowledge and submit to the Jurisdiction of their Judges ; and then without hearing their Offence, or having leave to Answer, they were sentenc'd to Scourging, Stigmatizing, Banishment, Transportation, to Slavery in *Barbadoes*, perpetual Imprisonment and the like ; as the Commissioners thought fit, and this to such a Degree, that the People fled before them, and the whole Country-sides, as they are called there, became depopulate, for Non-Conformity. As this High Commission Court is justly represented to be the most Arbitrary, Illegal, Cruel, and Unjust Judicatory, that ever was set up in a *Protestant* Nation, and imitated by none, but the Bloody Inquisition aforesaid, so it cannot be Unacceptable in our relating the Sufferings of the Good People of *Scotland* ; to give some few Instances, Out of an Innumerable Crowd of oppress'd Suffering Christians, of the vexations, Barbarities, Inhuman and Illegal

Practises of this Court, in pursuance of the Commission given them, to put the aforesaid Acts in Execution.

The Author of a Book Entitled, *The wretchings of the Church of Scotland*, has toucht at the Irregularities and Inhumanities of their Proceedings; but Alas! What are they to the Innumerable Examples, which living Testimony are yet able to give, and which the Collector of these particulars, has receiv'd from the Mouths, of many of the Sufferers themselves.

I have already mention'd, how Persons were brought before these new Judges without any Notice, without Information, Accusation, Witness, or Accuser: But being fetch'd in, were instantly *Charg'd by way of Inquiry*, and therefore was it that this Court was not improperly call'd a Court of Inquisition. The Arch-Prelate, or Bishop of *St. Andrews* the same who was afterwards kill'd, presiding therein.

Upon the bringing any Person before them, he was requir'd immediately to Answer such Questions as were propounded to him, being allow'd neither Council to advise with, or time to consider; if he answer'd satisfactorily to one Question, they would still find others to Ensnare him; if he refused to Answer, and pleaded the Great Law of Nature, *Nemo tenetur Scipsum accusare*; they set him by Instantly as Convict, and proceeded to Sentence; if he answer'd boldly and perhaps smartly, they immediately Sentence him for Contumacy and Disrespect: A Minister was Sentenc'd to Banishment, for calling the Archbishop, Sir, And not my Lord. One Mr. *Porterfield*, a Gentleman of a Loyal Family, was brought before them, and ask'd why he did not come to his Parish Church, to hear the Curate; to which he gave them a very pertinent Answer, viz. Because the Curate had abused him, and slander'd him, in such a manner, as was both Scandalous to him as a Minister, and just Ground of Resentment to anything of a Gentleman. The Court upon his exposing and proving the Fact, were asham'd of the Curate, but being resolv'd to Revenge it on the Gentleman, they put several other Questions to him, all which he answer'd, so as no Advantage could be gain'd of him, at which the Archbishop being Enrag'd, ask'd him if he would take the Oath of Supremacy, which when he modestly declined, they immediately Sentenc'd him to Banishment and Confinement, to the Town of *Elgin* far North, and Fin'd him almost to the full value of his whole Estate; and this was the constant Method when any Person Conven'd before them, Could no other way be laid hold of; nor in their Sentence did they confine themselves to suit the Punishment to the Offence, or consult the Power of their Commission; but frequently Sentenc'd People to the severest Punishment, for the smallest Offences; and frequently pass'd such Sentences, as they had no Power by their Commission to pass: one Famous Example, among a great Multitude is left upon Record, as follows.

Mr. *John Livingston*, a most Eminent and Reverend Minister, particularly famous in the Church of *Scotland*, had been Banish'd the Kingdom for no other Reason, but his refusing the Oath of Supremacy; there was Collated to that Benefice, a Curate or Episcopal Minister, one Mr. *Scott*, who it seems stood Excommunicated before, and continued under that Sentence; besides that, the People had other Objections against his Morals and Good Name, in-somuch, that they publicly opposed him, at his coming to Preach; and it seems, there were some warm Expressions used by some of the People

against him, which he complain'd of to the High Commission Court. Four poor Men of the Parish, were hereupon Conven'd before them, and being not charg'd with any thing by the said *Scott*, but being Interrogated, they acknowledg'd they were present, when the Parishioners did declare their Dissatisfaction at Mr. *Scott* coming to their Kirk, but said, that they did not speak what was said.

This the Commissioners, contrary indeed to several of their own Body, Vote to be a Confession of Guilt, and immediately gave this Barbarous Sentence.

That the Four Men should be Scourged thro' the Town, Stigmatiz'd on the Forehead with the Letter *T.* at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, and be Transported to the Island of *Barbadoes*; all which was rigorously Executed: Nor was this enough to satisfy the Rage of the Persecutors, even in so trifling an Offence. But a few Days after, two Brothers, and a young Maiden their Sister, Inhabitants of the same Parish, were sentenc'd on the same Account, the two Men to be Banish'd to *Barbadoes*, and the young Woman to be whipp'd thro' the Town of *Jedburgh*; all which Sentences were Executed accordingly.

Two more Examples we have of their Justice, which are very eminent; the one, of Mr. *Smith*, a Learned Nonconforming Minister, who was brought before them for *Praying and Preaching* to a few of his Friends, met privately in a Friend's House; they had, it seems, no Evidence of the Fact, much less any Thing to object against what he had spoken.

When he came before the Commissioners, he did not speak disrespectfully at all, but he declin'd giving the Arch-Bishop the Title of *Lord*: At which, one of the Bench ask'd him very scornfully, if he knew who it was he was speaking to, and what Character he bore; to which he answer'd, he did know him to be Mr. *James Sharp*, once a Minister, as he himself then was, and that he knew no higher Character any Christian Man could bear, than to be a Minister, and Ambassador of *Jesus Christ*: This he spoke, directing his Words to that Commissioner who had reprovd him, and gave him the Titles he was known by.

This so enrag'd the Arch-Bishop, that he knew not how with Violence enough to wreak his Malice on the poor Man. But to shew his Willingness to destroy him, he sentenc'd him, besides his Sentence for *Conventicling*, as they call'd it, to be led by the Hangman to the Place in the *Tol-Booth* call'd the *Thievers Hole*, and there laid in heavy Irons, there being a raving Creature who was an Idiot, and furious, confin'd in the same Place, and left loose with him. Here the godly Minister lay some Days in Danger of being destroy'd by the poor demented Wretch, who every Moment threaten'd to kill him. But God, that stopp'd the Mouths of *Daniel's* Lyons, restrain'd him so that he hurt him not: And these merciful Judges hearing, that by the Grate of this Hole which look'd to the Street, he was reliev'd and comforted by the Charity and Compassion of many good People of the City, many were threaten'd for relieving him; and at length the poor Man was carry'd away to a Place call'd the *Iron House* in the same Prison; where none could come at him. Here he continued close Prisoner, and in Irons, for many Days. Besides this, they sentenc'd him for his private Preaching to perpetual Banishment to the Island of *Shetland*, the coldest, and most unwholesome of all the *Caledonian* Islands; where his only Relief, as to this World, was the Society of other blessed Sufferers banish'd thither for the same Good Cause.

The next Instance of their Cruelty was one Mr. *Black*, a Lay-Man, charg'd by the Commissioners, with having been at a Meeting of a few Christians in a private Way, for Prayer; whether any Minister was with them, or not, was not alledg'd, neither had they any Thing else to charge upon him of any Kind whatever. They could not prove his being at the Meeting; but would have him confess, which he declin'd: Then they demanded him to give them an Account upon his Oath, who was at the said Meeting. This he declar'd was against his Conscience; and he would not be an Accuser of *Innocent Men*: For denying this, they sentenc'd him to be *scourged thro' the Town*; which he very patiently submitted to, and cheerfully suffer'd.

It would be endless to enumerate the Names of the Sufferers in this Case, and it has not been possible for the Author of these Collections to come at the certain Number of those Ministers, or Others, who dy'd in Prisons and Banishment, upon Account of these *Persecuting Laws*, there being no Record preserv'd of their Prosecution in any Court of Justice; nor could any Roll of their Names be preserv'd in those *Times of Confusion* any where, but under the *Altar*, and about the *Throne of the Lamb*, where their Heads are crown'd, and their *White Robes* seen, and where an exact Account of their Number will at last be found.

But, according to the Reports of Creditable and Impartial People, who, upon our earnest Enquiry, have from their Memories, as well as they could, recollected these Things, and putting their several Relations together, comparing them with what has been made publick. We shall at the End of this Part give the Calculations which such have made of the Numbers of those suffering Christians, who falling into, or flying from the Hands of their Cruel Persecutors, perished in Prisons, and went into Banishment, without any legal Process; most of whom perished by the Distresses and Extremities they were reduc'd to by those Means. And a surprising Number it will be to those who have not enquir'd into these Things, or discours'd with the People of *Scotland* about them; and all this before the Year 1666. A Time made remarkable upon the following Occasion, and to which Occasion these Things have been the unhappy Introduction.

If the poor People were by those insupportable Violences made desperate, and driven to all the Extremities of a wild Despair, who can justly reflect upon them, when they read in the Word of God, *That Oppression makes a wise Man mad?* and therefore, were there no other Original of the Insurrection, known by the Name of *The Rising of Pentland*, it was nothing but what the intolerable Oppressions of those Times might have justify'd to all the World; Nature having dictated to all People a Right of Self-Defence, when illegally and arbitrarily attack'd in a manner not justifiable either by the Laws of Nature, the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Country.

But besides all this it is evident, that this Insurrection was no premeditated Design, but began in the Violence of Military Execution committed by four Soldiers commanded by Sir *James Turner*, who, falling into some Houses in *Galloway* without Commission, or without Order from their own Officers, as Sir *James* afterwards alledged, were opposed, and driven out of their Doors by four or five honest Men of the Inhabitants, in the just Defence of their Wives, Children and Goods unjustly insulted and offer'd to be plundered by the said Soldiers. The more particular Relation of this Part is recorded as follows.

Sir *James Turner* was an Officer of Dragoons, who was sent with his Troops by Order of the Council, to quarter at Discretion upon the poor Western People of *Scotland*, because there they found the chief Body of the constant Sufferers, and Adherers to the *True Religion* were to be found.

This Sir *James* was a Tool to their Minds, a Stranger in the Country, being an *English Man*, bred to Plunder and Rapine in the Service of the *French*, perfectly void of the Fear of God, or Man, and unacquainted either with Religion, or Humanity. He had made three Invasions into this Part of the Country, where his Cruelty and Exactions had been such as had almost stript the Country, not of its Substance only, but even of its Inhabitants, who were obliged to quit their Habitations to avoid the Fury and Brutality of the Soldiers.

It is impossible to give the Detail of the Cruelties and inhuman Usage the poor People suffered from this Butcher, for such he was rather than a Soldier; neither is it the present Purpose but to introduce what follow'd at this Time.

The poor People had patiently suffered the merciless Treatment this Man shew'd them above seven Months, and thereby testify'd more *Passive Submission*, than most of those who have since upbraided them with *Resistance* can pretend to; when Sir *James Turner* put an End to their Patience by the following Occasion.

On the 13th Day of November, 1666, he sent four Soldiers from *Dumfries*, where he quarter'd, to a Town called *Dalray*, in the Shire of *Galloway*, with Orders to seize upon a poor Man's Goods, who, he pretended, to have broken the *Laws* by not coming to his Parish-Church; and if he had no Goods, to take the Man, and bring him Prisoner to *Dumfries*: The Soldiers, as Sir *James* alledg'd after, beyond their Instructions, not only seized his Goods, but his Person too; and binding the poor Old Man Hand and Foot, like a Beast, brought him out, and laid him on the Ground 'till they rid'd his House.

The Neighbours moved with Compassion at the Indignity of the Usage, and at seeing a poor Ancient Man lye on the Ground, bound like a Beast, to be carry'd away to the Slaughter; and with just Indignation at the Insolence of the four Soldiers, came to the Soldiers, and calmly entreated them to unbind him, and to let him go with them like a Prisoner, and like a Man, not like a Beast.

The insolent Soldiers pretend to be affronted at this Motion, and fall immediately upon the People with their Swords, wounding two or three. This so enraged the rest, that they attack'd the Soldiers immediately, wounded one, and made the rest throw down their Arms, and beg Quarter.

This Breach, thus purely accidental, and by an unforeseen Provocation being begun, the Soldiers vowing Revenge, and preparing to fall upon the whole neighbouring Part of the Country, drove the innocent People to the Necessity of gathering together, and standing upon their own Defence: So that when Ten or Twelve Soldiers return'd with their bloody Resolution of Plunder, and Desolation, they were likewise disarm'd, and made Prisoners, and when after this Three Troops were sent, they found the People too strong to be attack'd, upon which, they cry'd presently, A REBELLION; and sent for more Forces, which of course obliged Others to run in to the Aid of their Brethren, all which was purely casual, 'till finding themselves reduc'd by this last gathering together to a Circumstance which *stay or go*, would be fatal to them if they fell into the Hands of the Government, they saw no Remedy but to stand to it, and inviting all

the Injur'd and Oppress'd People to joyn with them, they declar'd for *Liberty and the Kirk of Scotland*: upon this, marching to *Dumfries*, they there seiz'd their great Persecutor Sir *James Turner* in his Quarters: Afterwards they march'd to *Kirkcubright*, to *Air*, and from thence to *Lanerck*, where they solemnly renew'd the COVENANT, and resolv'd to seal it with their Blood, as we shall immediately find they were oblig'd to do.

The brief History of this Rebellion is such, as it can be no considerable Interruption to our Story, and is much to the Purpose, to relate it. The Occasion being as above; the People having by Necessity been driven to repel unjust Violence by Force, and seeing no room for Mercy, but a certain Destruction at Hand from the Troops which were drawing about them, they resolv'd to stand to it; they were not increased to above Four Hundred Men, but those very well arm'd when they marched to the Town of *Dumfries*, where, as I have said, they seiz'd upon Sir *James Turner*, who was the Commanding Officer of the persecuting Troops which had oppress them; him they carry'd away Prisoner, tho' as he confest they used him very civilly. From thence gathering and encreasing in Number, they march'd to *Kirkcubright* and *Air*, principal Towns and Sea-ports on that Side the Country, where they seiz'd upon all the Arms and Ammunition they could find, but in no other Thing offer'd any Injury to any Man. From hence they advanc'd, being (as was reported) encreased to the Number of above Two Thousand, tho' that was a great Mistake, to the Town of *Lanerck*, where on the 26th Day of *November*, they had a great Meeting, and in a solemn Manner fasted and humbled themselves in Behalf of the Nation of *Scotland* for the great Sin of National Perjury in making void the COVENANT; and there in the most solemn Manner possible they renew'd the said COVENANT with their Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven. From hence they advanc'd still towards *Edinburgh*, where they arriv'd the 27th of *November*, 1686, but being not strong enough to attack the City, they posted themselves at the Foot of *Pentland Hills* on the South-West of the City, waiting the Conjunction of other Friends who they expected from the Border and from the City of *Edinburgh*.

Here they were attack'd and surpris'd the next Day by General *Dalsiel*, even during a proclaimed Cessation, with a Body of the King's Forces, and after a very bold and resolute Defence, they were at length overpower'd and broken: Many escaped, having disperst themselves the Two Days immediately before the Fight, about Fifty were kill'd upon the Place, Eighty were taken Prisoners, and the rest sav'd themselves by Flight.

For this Action, besides those slain, Ten were executed at *Edinburgh*, *December* the 7th, and the 11th, *Thomas Paterson* by Name, who was condemn'd with them dy'd in the *Tolbooth* before Execution, being grievously wounded. Five more were likewise condemn'd the 10th, and four of them executed the 14th. Four more were executed at *Glasgow* the 19th of *December*, six more at *Edinburgh* the 22th, eight more at *Air*, two at *Dumfries*, and two at *Irvine*: Five and Fifty who had made their Escape, were *Fore-Faulted*, as they call it, or Out-law'd, and Proclamation with Reward made for apprehending them, declaring it Treason to harbour, relieve, receive, or so much as to see and speak to them. Among these were several Ministers, of whom more hereafter.

It will hardly be allow'd us in *England* to call

this *Persecution*, or, that the Sufferers here put to Death should be reckoned among the Martyrs of *Scotland*, because (say they) these were Men taken in Arms against the King, and executed as Traytors. But we leave all those who afterwards thought it lawful to joyn in the *Revolution*, and in taking up Arms against the Oppressions and Arbitrary Government of King *JAMES*, to judge, whether these good Men had not the same individual Reasons, and more for this *Pentland Expedition*; and it is Answer enough to all that shall read these Sheets, to say, that these Men dyed for that lawful resisting of Arbitrary Power, which has been justified as legal, and acknowledg'd to be justifiable by the Practice and Declaration of the respective Parliaments of both Kingdoms: But we leave all those Disputes to the Readers to determine, as Truth and Justice shall guide them, and return to the History of Fact.

Besides the Death of these poor Men, we find upon Record above Eight Hundred Men proscib'd, and driven from their Families by the Violence of the Proceedings of this *High-Commission-Court*, who, besides these afterwards fallen upon, of whom more remains to be said, these suffered in their Flight all the Miseries that Tongue can express, even beyond what we read of in the 11th of the *Hebrews*. They wander'd about in Sheep's Skins, and Goat Skins, in Dens, and Caves of the Earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented. They suffer'd Extremities that Tongue cannot describe, and which Heart can hardly conceive of, from the dismal Circumstances of Hunger, Nakedness, and the Severity of the Climate; where it is known how unsufferable the Cold is; lying in damp Caves, and in hollow Clefts of the naked Rocks, without Shelter, Covering, Fire, or Food: None durst harbour, entertain, relieve, or speak to them, upon Pain of Death: Many, for venturing to receive them, were forced to fly to them, and several put to Death for no other Offence; Fathers were persecuted for supplying their Children, and Children, for nourishing their Parents; Husbands, for harbouring their Wives, and Wives, for cherishing their own Husbands; the Ties and Obligations of the Laws of Nature were no Defence, but it was made Death to perform natural Duties, and many suffer'd Death for Acts of Piety and Charity, in Cases where humane Nature could not bear the Thoughts of suffering it. To such an Extreme was the Rage of these Persecutors carried on.

Besides these Eight Hundred Families, who I call proscib'd, and were oblig'd to fly from their Habitations to avoid the Cruelty and Rapine of their Persecutors; there were Fifty five Eminent Persons who were Pannell'd, or as we call it in *England*, Arraign'd, as being actually in Arms in the *Pentland Expedition*; and being prosecuted by the Advocate, were sentenc'd respectively to be Executed to Death when Apprehended: And in the mean Time their Estates to be forfeited, and seiz'd upon to the KING's Use. Among these were the following Ministers; of whom more is to be said,

Mr. John Welch,	Mr. Alexander Peddin,
Mr. James Smith,	Mr. William Veach,
Mr. John Cunningham,	Mr. John Crookshanks,
Mr. Gabriel Semple,	Mr. Gabriel Maxwell,
Mr. John Guthrie,	Mr. John Cairstaires.

But GOD, in his infinite Goodness, deliver'd these all out of their Hands. Also it is very observable, that some of the above-nam'd Fifty two Out-law'd Persons being Gentlemen of good Estates, their said Estates were seiz'd on, and given by the

ing to the most violent of their *Persecutors*, as an encouragement to Others to imitate the Inhumanity and Butchery by which Things had been thus sought to Extremity.

Nay, some of them thought, that the *Council* had in their real Design, to drive the poor People to the Necessity of Taking Arms, in Hope of getting their Blood and Estates more in their Power.

Never more let us talk of *Popish* Cruelties, or give the *Romanists* the Title of BLOODY; let not the Rigour of the *Inquisition* any farther engage our Pens, 'till the Barbarities of this *Protestant Inquisition*, the merciless, unrelenting Fury of these *Protestant Persecutors* has been expiated, by their being abhorr'd by all Mankind.

But to leave the Generals, and descend a little to Particulars as they occur historically to our View.

It is proper to mention here, because we shall have Occasion to speak of their Names again, that, amongst the rest of the Ministers who fled on this unhappy Affair, Mr. John Welch, and Mr. Gabriel Sample were two, whose Zeal and Sincerity in the Cause of Religion occasion'd their being more eminent than their Brethren. These fled to the Borders, where they found Shelter, and Friends to harbour them in an unexpected Manner; and where they were made wonderful Instruments in God's Hand, to plant the Gospel and the Fear of God in the Hearts of the most bloody and barbarous of Men, who were before Robbers and Murderers, who, by the Preaching of these banished Ministers became Eminent Converts, and both them, and their Posterity were made Eminent in the Knowledge of God, and in their Love to his Ways, in so much, that to the Praise of sovereign Grace, those rude and unguided Borderers are now the most zealous Professors of the True Religion in Britain; and those Places which were Dens of Robbers, and Receptacles of Thieves and Murderers, are now become some of the best planted, and most flourishing Congregations of serious Christians, perhaps, in the World.

It must not be forgotten here to mention the Methods taken after this to prosecute, and follow those that fled; which (it was said) was owing to the merciless Disposition of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrew's (viz.) publishing a Proclamation, prohibiting the concealing, or corresponding with any of those who had escaped; and this on Pain of High-Treason. In this Proclamation the Fifty seven Gentlemen and Ministers mention'd before were particularly nam'd.

Thus the Persecution of God's Servants in one Country has often been the Means of calling of Others; and perhaps is yet to be the Means of spreading and planting the EVERLASTING GOSPEL in all Corners of the World, of which this Border of Scotland, and the Colony of New-England has been such Noble Examples, as we need look no farther into History to multiply Particulars.

But before I quit this Part, one Thing cannot be omitted, with Relation to the good Men who dyed thus on Account of this Rebellion. The *Persecutors*, for such this very Thing will prove them to be: As if they were fond of having it said, That these Men dyed for Religion, and not for being in Arms; and as if they scorn'd the Excuse which the Affair of *Pentland* put into their Mouths for putting them to Death, causes several of them to be offer'd their Lives, if they would take, and subscribe the DECLARATION to renounce the COVENANT. Whether they did this fraudulently or sincerely, Providence never gave them an Op-

portunity to discover. Nor, whether if the Weakness of any had brought them to yield, they would have perform'd their Promise to them, or no. For, not a Man they ever offer'd it to (I mean of those condemn'd to dye for the Rebellion of *Pentland*) but receiv'd it with Indignation, and chose to dye, rather than to yield to that Unconscionable Proposal. So that in that Point they gain'd an Undeniable Testimony, that they suffer'd for Religion, Not accepting Deliverance: For none of them esteem'd Renouncing the COVENANT to be any Thing more, or less, than Renouncing GOD and his CHURCH, to whom, and for which, that COVENANT was first enter'd, and engaged in.

The Cruelty of these Executions was attended with one Piece of Inhumanity, which we believe no PROTESTANT ever practised before; nor was it practised in all the *Popish Persecutions* in England in Queen Mary's Days: A Barbarity beyond the Cruelty of Death (viz.) causing the Drums to beat round the Scaffold all the while the Executions lasted, that the People might not hear what the Sufferers had to say to them, and to discompose and disorder them as much as possible in their last Moments.

It is very remarkable, that the like of this was never read of in any modern History, except in the History of that Bloody Tyrant and Persecutor the Duke d'Alva, Governour of the *Netherlands* for the King of Spain.

From this Time we may date the Persecution to be in its Height of Fury: For the Rage of the *Persecutors* extended every Way, provok'd by the Constancy of the Sufferers; till it came to such a Height, as was never yet heard of in any Protestant Country in the World.

The Poor People were driven from their Habitations and from their Families: This was indeed in their Power, and they did it with the utmost Cruelty; but they could never drive them from their Principles. Nor while Ministers were to be found, who durst preach to them, was it ever possible to prevent the People assembling to hear them, were the Penalty Loss of Goods, Liberty, Imprisonment; nay, even Death itself. And which was still wonderful, the more their *Persecutors* multiplied Laws and Penalties against them, and the more they were punished by those Laws for those Assemblies, the more numerous they grew, and Multitudes were added to the Church every Day by the Sufferings which they met with.

But the Subtil Enemy finding this, fell upon a Stratagem which did more Harm to RELIGION in Scotland, as it made a Breach and Division among the Sufferers, than all the Cruelty of the *Persecutors* could ever do; and this was what they called THE INDULGENCE. The History whereof is necessary to the Justification of the suffering People, as well against the Reproaches of their Friends, who were not rightly inform'd of their Circumstances, as against the Slanders of their Enemies.

The short Account of the Affair is thus.

KING CHARLES II. was a Prince, not naturally inclin'd to Cruelty, not a Man of Blood by his Disposition; and had, it seems, some about him, who had taken the Freedom to let him know more of the Inhumanity and Barbarity of the Arch-Bishop and his Accomplices, than these were desirous he should have heard of: And particularly, what was alludg'd by the Friends of the Kirk against that Prelate's Conduct, when the King had once before, upon the like Representation, sent an Express Order to the Council, That no

'more should be put to Death (*viz.*) That the Archbishop kept that ORDER in his Pocket, 'till he had seen the Execution of the last Nine or Eleven of the *Powland Men* who were Condemn'd.

This being represented to the King, his Majesty began to resent it; and spoke some Things, which gave them Reason to think that he would some Way or other put a Stop to their Proceeding, if they did not find out some new Method to impose upon him: This they wickedly, but effectually did, at the same Time, and in the same Act, and Deed, by which they very fatally divided the Church of Scotland against it self in the manner following.

First, They told the King, That they (the Council) were not at all prosecuting the Whole Kirk; but only some few Men that were Enemies to humane Society, and not safe to be suffer'd in a Civil Government, who denyed even the Ordinance of Magistracy it self; and would neither acknowledge, or submit to His Majesty's Authority, or the Laws of the Kingdom; a few Obstinate Rebels, who would neither Obey the Laws of GOD, or submit to the Government of Man. That to convince His Majesty of the Truth of this, they had resolv'd to publish an ACT OF INDULGENCE to all those who would submit to the Civil Magistrate, and give Assurances of their Fidelity to His Majesty's Person and Government, allowing them the Exercise of Religion, according to their Consciences; and then His Majesty would see, that those People who would stand out, were not fit to be suffer'd in a human Society, were Irreconcilable Enemies to His Majesty, and such, as no Government could be safe, till they were rooted out and destroy'd. With this Hypocritical Shew of CLEMENCY they satisfy'd that Easie Prince, a Man given up to his Luxury and the Effeminacy of his Vices, and who suffer'd the Mildness of his Disposition to be deluded with false Pretences under the shadow of Lenity, to all that were proper Objects of Compassion; and leaving those who were misrepresented by his Flatterers, to the matchless Rage of their irreconcilable Enemies.

To carry on this Farce, they pass'd an Act of *Indulgence*, as they call'd it, Anno 1669, after they had wasted the West of Scotland by their Soldiers, even worse than an Enemies Army would have done in Time of War; and after the Sufferers were so entirely scatter'd, that few were to be found, and very little Plunder left to satisfy the Rapine of their Dragoons: By their Act of Council, for they caus'd their Acts of Council to bear the Authority of Laws, they proclaimed, 'That all such Outed Ministers as should take License from the Council, or the Bishop of the Diocess, which Licenses also had several Limitations annex'd, all of them directly contrary to the Presbyterian Principle, and Homologating, as they term it, the Authority of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastick Affairs, even to the Height of Erastianism: 'All such Ministers were allowed to preach, and exercise the Ministerial Functions in private Houses or Meetings, and their People allowed to attend them with a *Non obstante*, to all Acts of Parliament then in Force to the contrary.' So that here was not only an Invasion of the Church, but the Exercise of the Dispensing Power in the Extremity, setting aside the establish'd Laws made in Parliament, by the Authority of the Council.

This *Indulgence* kindled a terrible Flame of Division and Breach of Charity among the suffering good People, a Schism that is really such, carried on even to Excommunicating one another, and the Effects of which is felt even to this Day.

Many Ministers upon Principles to themselves, perhaps, satisfactory, came in, and accepted this *In-*

dulgence; being willing to go any Length that their Consciences could be satisfy'd with, in Order to preserve the Priviledge of exercising their Ministry, and preaching the Gospel to their People.

But the persecuted People, whose Zeal commanded them not to do the least Evil to reap the greatest Good, began to protest against this Compliance of their Brethren, as wicked and detestable; declaring not only against the *Indulgence* itself, but against all those who submitted to it, as guilty of yielding to the Power of the Prelate's *Homologating* the Supremacy, forsaking their Principles, and breaking the *Covenant*. In a Word, they not only refused to accept such a *sinful Toleration*, but protested against the making it, as void in its own Nature, and this in the warmest Manner; and being thus effectually secluded from the Advantage of worshipping GOD in their Houses, even in the most secret Manner possible, they took to the *Fields*.

Now their Persecutors obtain'd what they desired: For, now they thought they might with Assurance boast to the King, of having made a right Judgment in these Affairs; and having said many favourable Things of those they call'd the *Sober Presbyterians*, whom now they cajol'd, in Order to bring them to accept of the *Indulgence*, and to take *Licenses*; they represented those who remain'd, who were now call'd WHIGGS, as a Party, who were not to be suffer'd in any Government, but that ought to be rooted off from the face of the Earth; and this is the first Time that the Name of a WHIGG was used in the World: I mean, as applied to a Man, or to a Party of Men; and these were the original primitive WHIGGS, the Name for many Years being given to no other People. The Word is said to be taken from a mixt Drink the poor Men drank in their Wanderings compos'd of Water and sour Milk; but that by the Way.

At the same Period began the *Field-Preachings*, or *Field-Conventicles*, of which I shall have frequent Occasion to speak more largely.

And at the same Period also, the People frequenting these meetings, or Field-Preachings, were first call'd *Cameronians*, from one Mr. *Cameron*, a zealous Assertor of the *Sovereignty of Conscience over the Laws of Men*, of whom also we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter.

If the Persecution was cruel and furious before, it was now raging and unsufferable, carry'd on with such Madness, and with such an unsatisfy'd Thirst of Blood, that I believe, none of the *Heathen Persecutions* in the primitive Times could go beyond it in all its Parts. It is true, they did not immediately torment the Body by Fire, by Racks, and a vast Variety of instrumental Tortures; tho' they had Cruelty enough that Way too, as in those barbarous Engines of Cruelty call'd the *Boot* and the *Thumb-kine*, than which a more exquisite Torture could not easily be devised.

But they had Torments beyond the Cruelty of Death, which they drove the poor persecuted People to suffer (*viz.*) the driving them from their Habitations into Mountains and Hills, into Dens, and Holes, and Caves of the Earth, attended with unsufferable, unsupportable Hunger and Cold, in a Climate the most un hospitable, and Places most barren, and empty of Sustenance or Relief of any in these Parts of the World.

It is not to be calculated how many were starv'd in this Manner, and whose Bones, many of them, were found afterwards, who had perished in the most deplorable Circumstances, and were not discover'd by any other Remains; it would make the Heart of any considering Christian bleed, to contemplate the

Miseries of those People who perished in this deplorable Manner, when such was the Cruelty of their Persecutors, that even the Parents durst not relieve, or entertain their Children, or Children harbour, or nourish their Parents : But, if the Person was accused of having been at one of these *Field-Meetings*, they were immediately *proscrib'd*, and *intercommuned*, by which it was made Death for any one so much as to speak with them, much more to harbour, or relieve them.

It has been enquir'd, why these People would so obstinately continue to assemble in these *Field-Meetings* ; and I have heard them censur'd by many, who did not understand the Circumstances which they were reduced to ; which therefore, it is necessary a little to describe.

It is mentioned before, how severe the Laws they had already made, were against those who *did not come to Church* : And how none were permitted to exercise the *Ministerial Office*, but upon such and such Limitations. This they found embarrass'd them, with the whole Body of the Kirk, and begun to appear too rigid and severe : And for this Reason, as before, the *Indulgence* was set on Foot. After which *Lenity*, as it was call'd ; they suppos'd nothing would be call'd *Cruelty* upon those, who would not accept of *Liberty* upon their Terms ; and therefore, no sooner was the *Indulgence* granted, but they began to persecute with the utmost Fury all those, who either would not, or did not accept of their *Benevolent Indulgence*.

Immediately Sanguinary Laws were made to fall upon those they had now doom'd to Destruction, for not complying with their most merciful *TOLERATION* ; and First as such, who thought fit to take *Licenses from the Bishops*, were admitted, or indulg'd to Meet, &c. in such and such Places. So all other were immediately sentenc'd, by a Law to suppress *Conventicles* ; whereby all those *Ministers*, who presum'd to *Preach, Exound, or Pray* in any House where were more than the Family, were to be imprison'd 'till they gave Security never to offend again, or to depart the Kingdom ; and every Person presented in such House to be fin'd a fourth Part of their Annual Rent, if Gentlemen ; and in Proportion for others : But for *Field-Conventicles*, the Preacher was to be put to Death, and his Goods confiscated, and 500 Marks Reward was given to the Person that should apprehend them ; the Hearers also to be fin'd double to what the Hearers in House-Conventicles were fin'd. This is that Famous Persecuting Law, entituled, *Act against Conventicles*, 6. Act. 2d. Sess. 2d. Parl. Cha. II. Anno 1670. and was continued afterwards for Three Years more, and after that continued again, and the Fines doubled.

The *Ministers* who could not accept of this *Indulgence*, had now their Sentence ; if they thought fit to lay aside their Office, and neither be *Minister*, or *Hearer*, they were indeed tolerably safe ; but this they could not yield to. What was then before them, as *Ministers*, was clear ; for *House-Meetings*, Imprisonment and Banishment ; for *Field-Meetings*, immediate Death. This however did not deterr the poor People to assemble themselves together, or the *Ministers* to attend and perform the Duty of their Office, at first, in Houses, but afterwards, their Numbers encreasing, they assembled in the Fields, or Mountains rather ; and that in such Numbers, and so well prepar'd, as that their Persecutors often paid dear for falling upon them.

But this enrag'd them the more, and occasion'd the Persecution to rise to such a Height, as can scarce be equal'd for its Cruelty and Variety in any History.

As I have said, the Numbers of the People flocking to the *Ministers* were not to be concealed, indeed not to be contained in Houses ; so that it presently became so dangerous to meet in that Manner, that few, if any such Meetings could be held, without being discovered, in which Case the Minister was sure to suffer Imprisonment and Banishment, and the poor People were as sure to be ruin'd by Fines.

This caused them to quit their Houses, and go to the Hills, the Beginning of *Field-Conventicles*, as I said before, where they had both Convenience of Meeting, were much easier conceal'd, and had more Opportunity to make their Escapes, if discover'd : Before this had been long practis'd, the Council took the Alarm ; It is true, as soon as ever the poor People took to this Method, their Numbers encreased to a prodigious Degree ; for Thousands of People, who durst not distinguish themselves in appearing at House-Meetings, finding more Safety, and almost an Impossibility of being discover'd in these *Field-Meetings*, crowded thither ; so that it was very frequent to have 7, 8 to 10,000 People at a Time at those Meetings.

Upon this Method, the Council being, as I said, alarm'd, resolv'd to raise Forces, and to put the Kingdom to the Expence of keeping, and supporting a *Standing Army*, on Pretence of suppressing the *Cameronians* ; a People, who all that while desir'd no more than a quiet, peaceable enjoying the *Liberty of serving GOD, free from the Impositions of Men* ; and who, altho' they had already suffered all kinds of Oppressions and Injustice, yet offer'd Violence to none ; what provok'd their Enemies on this Occasion was, that they could not fall upon them now in the usual Manner by their Civil Officers and Persecutors ; for the People having been before dispers'd from their Habitations, and not daring to appear where they were known ; yet now gather'd together from all Parts to the Solemn Occasions of worshipping GOD without any Fear, and in a Posture not to be easily disturbed. This their Persecutors presently call'd *REBELLION*, and represented it as well to the *Parliament* there, as to the King Himself, in the most formidable Appearances, as a Thing threatening a *Civil War* ; and which, if not timely suppress'd, would embroil the whole Kingdom.

As it was easy for them to impose by these Things on the most credulous Prince in the World ; so they had their Agents ready at Court to aggravate, and expatiate upon every Article : And by this Means they brought the Court into all their most Sanguinary Resolutions, and having, as is said, obtained an Act of Parliament, whereby they made it Death, and Confiscation of Goods, for any Minister to *Preach, or Pray* at these *Field-Meetings*. They had this specious Pretence to raise Forces to put that Law in Execution. The Number of Soldiers they raised was not great, at first, amounting in the whole not to above 2500 Men, most Dragoons ; but they afterwards thought fit to joyn 3000 Highland Thieves to them, by which they compleated the Ruin of the Country. With these Forces they pursued these poor People thro' the Hills and Mountains, to disturb and separate their Assemblies ; to which Purpose, they were order'd to seize, secure, and apprehend all they could lay Hold on, to murder, and destroy all that made Resistance ; and to plunder, and waste the Goods of those, who they could not apprehend : Nor was any Cruelty omitted by these Dragoons, which it was in their Power to inflict, 'till their Masters obtain'd by them the great End, which they always

aim'd at, (*viz.*) to make the poor People desperate, and drive them to *take Arms*. This was the Case, and this issued in the *Rising of Bothwell*: Of which in its Place.

These Troops were immediately dispers'd over the whole Country: I mean that part of the Country where the Things were chiefly transacted, (*viz.*) the *Western and Southern Shires*. They were empower'd to apprehend, and bring, dead or alive, such *Ministers* as they had given them by Name: And at length, they had a Power to apprehend all People, that they had Reason to suppose were present at any of those Meetings, or were going to them, or coming from them. This last Clause gave them such an unlimited extensive Power, that no Person was exempt from their Enquiry, and if they found any Person upon the Road, that had but a BIBLE in their Pockets, they took it for a sufficient Proof, that they either had been at, or were going to one of those Meetings; and accordingly they sent them to Prison, where they seldom fail'd of finding some Pretence or other, to ensnare them, and draw them in to some Acknowledgment of what they call'd a Crime, so to keep them in Custody: For, as the honest People would not lye to save themselves, they failed not to purge them with Questions, whether they had been, or intended to be present at any *Field-Conventicles*: And many Times the People so question'd would boldly acknowledge, tho' to their own Hurt, That they both had been at them, and intended as often as might be to be present again at them, defying the Power of their Enemies, and bidding them do their Worst.

By these Things the Prisons were fill'd with great Numbers of Faithful Confessors; and many were confin'd in the Island of the Bass, the Castles of *Dunnotter*, *Blackness*, and other unwholesome Places; where they perish'd with Distempers, and in Misery, occasion'd by Want of Conveniences, by Severity of Cold, and Length of Time, and Others languish'd without Hope, or at least, without Prospect of Deliverance 17 or 18 Years, 'till their Persecutors were supplanted by Heaven at the *Glorious Revolution*, effected by King *William*. Many likewise were banished in this Part of the Persecution, and Hundreths, nay Thousands were driven from their Dwellings, *Out-law'd*, and *Inter-communed*.

The Reader is desir'd to observe now, that the Persecutions of the Church of Scotland may be divided into Two Parts, and they have their respective Periods of Time. To wit, (1.) *The Persecution of the Whole PRESBYTERIAN Church*, as described from the Time of the Act restoring EPISCOPACY, Anno 1662: Of which Mention has been made. And (2.) *The Persecution of the Cameronian Presbyterians*, (so they were then call'd,) which begun at, or immediately after the Declaration of Indulgence: To wit, in the Year 1670. This Indulgence was called a Declaration, because it was not done by Act of Parliament, but by the King's Council, upon a Letter from the King Himself: And to give it an equal Sanction as a Statuted Law, an Act was immediately pass'd in the Parliament, by which it was Enacted, That the Government of the Church, and the Ordering thereof does of Right belong to His Majesty, and his Successors, by Virtue of His SUPREMACY, and is inherent in the Crown, and that the King may set forth such Constitutions concerning Ecclesiastic Matters, as he shall find proper, which are to be Obey'd, and Observ'd by all His Subjects as Law.

Upon this Indulgence, those Ministers who submitted to accept of Licences to preach from the

Bishop, and to take the Oaths therein prescribed; to wit, of ALLEGIANCE and SUPREMACY, were allow'd to set up Meeting-Houses for Religious Worship, and to exercise all the Parts of their Ministerial Office to such Congregations as gathered to them for that Purpose. And it is acknowledged, that in the East and North Parts of Scotland, many, perhaps the greater Part, of the Presbyterian DISSENTERS did comply, and accept of this Indulgence, esteeming it better so to do, than to leave the People as Sheep without a Shepherd; and better than to be utterly depriv'd of the Means of Preaching the Gospel at all: For, tho' they should have suffered the greatest Extremities, and had been willing to have endured the worst their enemies could inflict, yet could they not have had the least Opportunity to have preached, or the People to have heard them in those Parts, where the Country being fully inhabited, and chiefly by their Enemies, they would have been certain at all Times to have been disappointed, and fallen upon.

But, there were a Body of People, especially in the West and Southern Parts, whose Zeal carried them beyond all such Compliances, and who esteeming the accepting of the INDULGENCE, as *Homologating* (to use their own Words) their solemnly abjur'd Prelacy, and detesting every thing that look'd like a Yielding up the Cause of GOD, as they really believed theirs to be, stood out, and would by no Means accept of Deliverance in a sinful Manner.

It is too long a Subject to enter upon in these Memoirs, to set down the Reasons, that one side gave for their complying with, and the other for their rejecting this Indulgence; it is sufficient to the Case in Hand, that these Men declar'd they thought the Terms Sinful; that the Good pretended, was by no means equivalent to the Evil that was to be committed; that it was against the Covenant, by which they were engag'd to God, to endeavour to their utmost, the Extirpation of Prelacy; that they ought to suffer the greatest Torment, rather than to commit the least Sin, and that as this was in their Opinion a great Sin, they could not in Conscience comply with it.

What they deny'd or refused to do, may be comprehended in these Heads, with the reasons they have for it.

1. They would not accept of an Indulgence for Worshipping God, by the Licence of the Bishops; because they said they had abjur'd Prelacy in the Covenant, and had declared the Bishops to be Antiscriptural and Anti-christian, and to take Licence from them, was to homologate their Authority as Legal, which they detested and abhor'd.

2. They would not take the Oath of Supremacy, because they could not in Conscience allow any King or Head of the Church but *Jesus Christ*.

3. They would not Pray for the King, or Swear to him, because he was a Persecutor of the Church, and thereby an Enemy to God, because he had Renounced the Oath of God in the Covenant, and till he had repented, they would have nothing to do with him.

4. Being debarred all manner of Liberty to Worship God in Publick, and on the severest Penalties forbid to assemble themselves together, either in the Churches, or in private Families; and believing it at the same time their Duty according to the Scripture, not to forsake assembling, &c. They could not satisfy their Consciences to obey Man rather than God.

These, Things however Condemned by others who thought the Suffering People strained their

Matters too high; were yet Principles, which those People could not in Conscience abate, or go from; and it was apparent they would lay down their Lives, rather than abate, or go from them: And this makes the Proceedings of the Council against them be justly esteemed, the height of Persecution. Nor were the methods taken with them, such as could be justified, either by the Laws of God or Man, especially Christians, tho' their Principles had been really worse, than their Enemies ever pretended they were: For they were treated not only with all manner of Cruelty, Barbarity, and Inhumanity, but with Treachery, Perfidy, and breach of even the Laws of Nature: They were abandon'd to the Mercy of every common Souldier, to kill and destroy them, upon even Suspicion of Guilt, without Tryal, Evidence, or Examination; they were made Witnesses against themselves, and against one another, and Methods were taken to Try, Convict, and Execute them in a few Moments, without Law, Order, Judge or Magistrate.

The Merciless rage of their Persecutors, was come to such a height, that they would frequently contrive to surprize them, so as that they might put them to Death, without giving them time so much as to pray to God, as if they thought their Rage could extend beyond Death, and that if possible, they would punish their Souls as well as their Bodies; and I think it is no Breach of Charity to say, that if they could have made an Act of Parliament, that they should have had no Mercy shewn them in the next World, any more than in this, they would not have fail'd to have pass'd it: Few Persecutions in the World, have ever been Circumstanc'd with such particular marks of Inveterate Malice, they have even Envy'd them the Prayers of others, and if upon their Tryals any one had but said, *Lord Comfort them*, they were sure to be taken up and question'd for themselves.

Such Inhumanities have not been Parallel'd in the World, as has been used here, particularly, that when 250 of them were put on board a Ship for Transportation, and the Ship was cast away upon the Rocks, so hard hearted, so inhumanly Cruel was the Officer who Commanded, that he would not suffer the Hatch to be opened that they might be sav'd, tho' to be still banish'd according to Sentence; but stood over them till they were all Drown'd in the Hold of the Ship except 50 who Miraculously escaped, some of whom are alive at the publishing of this Account.

These however are Generals, I shall meet with them all again in their Course: I return to the Field Meetings, for it is of these and of the People frequenting them, that all that is now to be said is to be understood.

After the poor People had thus adjourn'd their Meetings to the Hills as is said, and the Council had obtain'd those Laws abovemention'd, declaring it Imprisonment, Death, &c. to be found at any of them, and Troops were Levy'd, to put those Laws in Execution; there could be nothing expected on any Side but Blood, and the Fire of Persecution was but then said to be Kindled.

The first Civil or pretendedly Legal Step was an Act of Parliament, 2 Sess. 2 Parl. Cha. 2. Anno 1670, by which every Person, of what Quality, Age or Sex soever, was obliged to Answer upon Oath, and depose all that they knew of such Field Meetings, and of what Persons were thereat, and to answer to the Questions that should be ask'd them upon Oath, upon Pain of Imprisonment, Fine, Corporal Punishment, or Banishment, at the Pleasure of the Council. By this Act, Fathers and Mothers

were oblig'd to Betray, and Accuse their own Children; and Children to Betray and Accuse their Parents; Husbands their Wives, and Wives their Husbands; and many for refusing thus to betray their nearest Relations, have been Transported to the Plantations from their Country, Relations, and Interest; where they have been sold for Slaves, and have perished by the severity of Labour, violent Cold, or violent Heat, not having been used to such hardships.

A Serious and Judicious Writer of those Times, says, such Havock was made by the cruelty of the Souldiers, and by the furious Executions of their Arbitrary and Tyrannical Laws, that greater could not be found in the Reigns of *Nero* and *Caligula*, Roman Emperors, most infamous for Cruelty.

Nor were these Violences Exercised for a little while, as in several of the most cruel of the Primitive Persecutions was the Case; but for Eighteen Years together, the poor People had no Redress, no Relaxation, but that every Day, matters grew worse and worse, and more and more desperate; their Enemies always contriving some new and unpractis'd Severity, and acting something never known before, in Order more and more to exasperate and oppress them. This Account of 18 Years Persecution is to be reckon'd from the Time of the *Indulgence*, or, at least, from the Year after (*viz.*) 1670: But, the whole Persecution continued 28 Years (*viz.*) from May, the Beginning of the Year 1660, being the first of the RESTORATION, to November, the latter End of the Year 1688, being the Beginning of the REVOLUTION.

Things were now come to the utmost Extremity, and the Sufferers being treated thus with all Manner of Cruelty, had, as is said, taken to the Hills, where they worshipp'd GOD with more Freedom, and with Gladness of Heart; but not with much less Hazard at the last; for they were then fallen upon as Rebels by Troops of Dragoons who executed the Bloody Orders of the Council with such Rage over the poor defenceless People, riding over the poor flying Women, and Children, and dragging them like Beasts up and down the Fields, 'till they brought them to Prisons; that it was no Wonder the Men took Measures to meet together with more Safety to themselves. From this Time it was resolved, That seeing Self-Defence was a Natural Law, and that every Man had a Right to preserve his own Life in the Performance of any lawful Action, and likewise that the Worship of God was not only lawful, but their indispensable Duty, which no human Power ought to restrain, or had a Right to forbid; it was lawful therefore for them to defend themselves from Violence, and preserve their Liberty in the Exercise, and during the Time of Worship: And therefore they resolved, That at their said Field-Meetings, as many of the young Men that had Fire-Arms, should come arm'd, not to use Violence against any, but to resist the Dragoons, in case they should fall upon the Meeting, or lay hold of any of the People going to, or coming from it.

This was the Famous Resolve of the great Meeting at LANERCK, and for a Time, was some Surprize to the Persecutors. For, indeed, after this they were often beaten back by the Courage of much inferior Numbers of the People, notwithstanding their Rage and Fury: And at other Times the Persecuted appeared to guard their Meetings with such Numbers, and so skilfully posted, that the Dragoons durst not attack them: Tho' on all these Occasions the Persecuted kept themselves on the Defensive, never offering any more, than to

stand firm, facing their Enemies, 'till the poor frightened Women and Children were separated, and gotten safe from the Place.

I cannot refrain from giving some few Instances of the Behaviour of these People, when Power was in their Hands; which may serve to let Posterity see whether they were Rebellious by their Inclination, or, whether they were driven to take Arms in their Hands for their own just Defence, or not: And to prove, that even when it was in their Power to have cut their Enemies in pieces, who well had deserv'd it for their Cruelty; yet they contented themselves with bare Rescuing their Brethren from the Butchery of the Dragoons, and let the Murderers escape.

There had been a Meeting in the Fields, in *Nithsdale*, not far from *Drumlanrig Castle*, the Seat of the late D. of *Queensberry*. The Assembly was very numerous, and there were about sixty Men with Fire-Arms, who placed themselves at convenient Distance, so as to keep off their Enemies, if they should come to disturb the Assembly, 'till the People might disperse: These also had Scouts out every Way at great Distance to discover, and give Notice, &c. It was not long before an Alarm was given, that *They were betray'd, and that two Parties of Dragoons were marching to attack them*. Upon this, the poor People, as was always the Method, separated, and went every one their own Way; so that the Soldiers found them entirely dispers'd, and no Meeting in Appearance, except of about 300, who were gotten together, where their men were posted that had Arms; who presenting their Pieces at the Dragoons from the side of a steep Hill, where their Horses were useless, they did not think fit to dismount, and attack them.

The Soldiers however grown furious, and enrag'd, spread themselves over the Fields, in Pursuit of the poor straggling People, and seiz'd several of them: And amongst the rest, they unhappily fell upon six Men naked and unarm'd; one of whom was the Minister: These they took, and after having abused them, bruised, and wounded them, tho' they offered no Resistance, they bound, and dragg'd them along with them, making the poor Men go on Foot at their Horse-Heels, as fast as they rode. They carry'd these Prisoners directly for *Edinburgh*, where also they were sure to be put to Death as soon as they arriv'd.

As the Ministers, on these Occasions, were very free to hazard their Lives in the Work of their Office, and for the Comfort and Edification of their People: So the People again were remarkable for their Love to their Ministers, and their Concern for their Preservation: No sooner therefore was it known among them, that their Minister was taken, but the Men began to gather together in several Parties with their Arms, resolv'd, whatever it cost, to rescue their Minister: To this End they dispers'd themselves into all the Ways by which they thought the Dragoons might march, by which it happened, that the smallest Number of them not being above 37 Men, who lay on the side of *Entrekein Hill*, met with them, that being the Way the Enemy really went with the Prisoners.

This *Entrekein* is a very steep, and dangerous Mountain; nor could such another Place have been easily found in the whole Country for their Purpose; and, had not the Dragoons been infatuated from Heaven, they would never have entered such a Pass, without well discovering the Hill above them. The Road for above a Mile goes winding, with a moderate Ascent on the side of a very high, and very steep Hill, 'till on the latter part, still ascending

and the Height on the left above them being still vastly great, the Depth on their right below them makes a prodigious Precipice, descending steep and ghastly into a narrow deep Bottom, only broad enough for the Current of Water to run that descends upon hasty Rain: From this Bottom the Mountain rises instantly again steep as a Precipice on the other side to a stupendous Height. The passage on the side of the first Hill, by which, as I said, the Way creeps gradually up, is narrow; so that two Horsemen can but ill pass in Front: And, if any Disorder should happen to them, so as that they step but a little a-wry, they are in Danger of falling down the said Precipice on their right, where there would be no stopping 'till they came to the Bottom. And the Writer of this has seen, by the Accident only of a sudden Frost, which had made the Way slippery, 3 or 4 Horses at a Time, of Travellers or Carriers, lying in that dismal Bottom; which, slipping in their Way, have not been able to recover themselves, but have fallen down the Precipice, and rolled to the Bottom, perhaps, tumbling 20 Times over, by which it is impossible but they must be broken to pieces, e'er they come to stop.

In this Way the Dragoons were blindly marching 2 and 2 with the Minister and 5 Countrymen, whom they had taken Prisoners, and were hauling them along to *Edinburgh*; the Front of them being near the Top of the Hill, and the rest reaching all along the steep part; when on a sudden they heard a Man's Voice calling to them from the side of the Hill on their left a great Height above them.

It was misty, as indeed it is seldom otherwise on the Height of that Mountain; so that no Body was seen at first: But the Commanding Officer hearing some Body call, halted, and call'd aloud, What d'ye want, and who are ye? He had no sooner spoke, but 12 Men came in sight upon the side of the Hill above them, and the Officer call'd again, What are ye? and had Stand: One of the 12 answer'd, by giving the Word of Command to his Men, *Make ready*; and then calling to the Officer, said, Sir, *Will ye deliver our Minister?* The Officer answer'd with an Oath, No, Sir, and ye were to be damn'd. At which the Leader of the Countrymen fir'd immediately, and aim'd so true at him, tho' the Distance was pretty great, that he shot him thro' the Head, and immediately he fell from his Horse; his Horse flustering a little with the Fall of his Rider, fell over the Precipice, rolling to the Bottom, and was dash'd to pieces.

The rest of the 12 Men were stooping to give Fire upon the Body; when the next Commanding Officer call'd to them to hold their Hands, and desir'd a Truce. It was apparent, that the whole Body was in a dreadful Consternation; Not a Man of them durst stir a Foot, or offer to fire a Shot. And had the 12 Men given Fire upon them, the first Volley, in all Probability, would have driven 20 of them down the side of the Mountain into that Dreadful Gulph at the Bottom.

To add to their Consternation, their 2 Scouts who rode before, gave them Notice, *That there appear'd another Body of Arm'd Countrymen at the Top of the Hill in their Front*; which however was nothing but some Travellers, who, seeing Troops of Horse coming up, stood there to let them pass, the Way being too narrow to go by them: It's true, there were about 25 more of the Countrymen in Arms, tho' they had not appear'd, and they had been sufficient, if they had thought fit, to have cut this whole Body of Horse in pieces.

But, the Officer having ask'd a Parley, and demanded, What it was they would have? they replied

again, Deliver our Minister. Well Sir, says the Officer, Ye's get your Minister, and ye will promise to forbear firing : Indeed we'll forbear, says the good Man, We desire to hurt none of ye : But Sir, says he, Belike ye have more Prisoners : Indeed have we, says the Officer, and ye mon deliver them all, says the honest Man. Well, says the Officer, Ye shall have them then. Immediately the Officer calls to Bring forward the Minister : But the Way was so narrow and crooked he could not be brought up by a Horseman, without Danger of putting them into Disorder : So that the Officer bad them Loose him, and let him go ; which was done : So the Minister stept up the Hill a step or two, and stood still : Then the Officer said to him, Sir, and I let you go, I expect you promise to oblige your People to offer no Hindrance to our March. The Minister promis'd them, He would do so. Then go Sir, said he, You owe your Life to this Damu'd Mountain. Rather Sir, said the Minister, to that GOD that made this Mountain. When their Minister was come to them, their Leader call'd again to the Officer, Sir, We want yet the other Prisoners. The Officer gave Orders to the Rear, where they were, and they were also deliver'd. Upon which the Leader began to march away, when the Officer call'd again, But hold, Sir, says he, Ye promised to be satisfied, if ye had your Prisoners : I expect you'll be as good as your Word. Indeed shall I, says the Leader, I am just marching away ; it seems he did not rightly understand the Officer. Well, Sir, but, says the Officer, I expect you call off those Fellows you have posted at the Head of the Way. They belong not to us, says the honest Man, they are unarm'd People, waiting 'till you pass by. Say you so, said the Officer, Had I known that, you had not gotten your Men so cheap, or have come off so free : Says the Countrymen, And ye are for Battle, Sir, We are ready for you still, if you think you are able for us, ye may trye your Hands ; we'll quit the Truce, if you like. NO, says the Officer, I think ye be brave Fellows, e'en gang your Gate.

The Case was very clear, and the Officer saw it plainly : Had those 37 Men, for that was the most of their Number, fir'd but twice upon them, and then fallen in Sword in Hand, or with the Club of their Musquets ; not a Man of them could have escaped : Nay, they must have destroy'd one another ; for they would have thrust one another down the Hill with but the least Offer to move, or turn, or do any Thing but go forward : Nor could any Dragoon apply himself to any Thing but to govern his Horse, so as to prevent his falling over the Edge of the Way down the Hill : Indeed the persecuted had them all at Mercy, and had they commanded them all to lay down their Arms, and surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion, they must have done it. But these testify'd by their Moderation, that they sought no Man's Blood ; and that they took Arms meerly for their own Defence, and yet four of these were afterwards Executed for this Fact.

This little Affair made a great Noise. The Officer of the Dragoons was threaten'd with a Council of War : And whether he was not broke for Cowardise I am not certain ; but this I am certain of, that had the best of them been upon the Spot, they must have done the same, or have resolv'd to have made a Journey headlong down such a Hill, as would have chill'd the Blood of a Man of good Courage but to have thought of. As to the Mistake, of not discovering the place before they entred the Pass. That Fault lay upon the Officer who was kill'd, who had already paid dear for his Omission.

There was another Occasion, in which the persecuted People had let the Soldiers know, that they were not always to expect their Blood so cheap as they had formerly had it. And this had been much to their Advantage, had they not carry'd it on afterwards to an Enterprize, which neither their Numbers, or Circumstances were by any means equal to.

John Graham, Laird of Claverhouse, the same who was famous afterwards by the Title of Visc. of Dundee, and was kill'd at the Battle of Gillioranky, in the Year 1689. was a Furious Persecutor, and an implacable Enemy of these poor innocent People upon all Occasions : He had, among the rest of his Cruelties, barbarously murder'd several of the persecuted People with his own Hands, as after this Action he did several more, particularly one of his own name, (*viz.*) *Graham of Galloway*, who fled from him out of a House where the said *Claverhouse* had pursu'd and beset him : The young Man being forced to quit the House, and run to save his Life, *Claverhouse* rid after him and overtook him ; and tho' the young Man offer'd to surrender, and begg'd him to save his Life, he shot him dead with his Pistol. This, with several other like barbarous Things he practis'd upon the poor persecuted People. Of which hereafter.

There was a very great Meeting of the persecuted People in the Fields near *Loudoun-Hill* ; where, by Report, many Thousands were met together. I think they had intended to have the Communion, and to have made it a Day both of Humiliation and Rejoycing ; a Day of Humiliation for the Apostacy of their Brethren, and for the Sins of the Land : And a Day of solemn Joy for the Liberty of, and Affection of the People to the Service and Worship of God.

As it was a very great Meeting, so the Number of Men was greater that were in Arms for their Defence, than was usual on other and ordinary Occasions ; there being about 200 Men with Fire-Arms, prepar'd for, and resolv'd to do their Parts with the Enemy, if they came, as was threaten'd, to disturb them.

The Laird of *Claverhouse* having Information of this Assembly, prepar'd to attack them ; and had boasted what Havock he would make of the *Camaronians* on that Occasion : *It seems he said*, that he heard they had some Fire-Men among them, but if they offered to make one shot at his Men, he would save the Council and Courts of Justice the Trouble of prosecuting his Prisoners with the Formality of the Law, for he would immediately hang up every one that fell into his Hands, if he should take 500. It was confidently reported, that some of the Soldiers of his own Troops gave private Notice of this, and of the measures he had taken for assaulting the Meeting : As also of the Menaces and Boasts he had made. Compassion indeed might move some of the Soldiers ; for tho' generally speaking, the Soldiers were barbarous and cruel as their Officers could desire, yet oftentimes it was found they were less so than their Officers.

However it was, the persecuted had receiv'd Information, that *Claverhouse* with 300 Dragoons was resolv'd to surround the Meeting, and put them all to the Sword. This Account came not to them till after they were assembled, and their Worship was actually begun ; whereupon the Men who had the Guard of the Meeting far from being surprised, consulted together what they should do, whether they should disperse for that Time, and appoint another Meeting at another Place and Time, or what Course they should take.

They had not many Hours to deliberate, much

less to put in Execution what they should resolve on. But, in a Word: It was concluded the People should be desir'd to sit still, and compose themselves, whatever should happen, leaving the Event to the Providence and good Pleasure of God; and that they should send for Help to all the neighbouring Places, And in the mean Time to meet *Claverhouse* and his Men, if they came to attack them; and do as God should direct.

Upon mustering their Men, they found their Number encreased to about 250 Men well arm'd, besides several that came in afterwards: And before the Action began it's thought they were near 400. The Assembly was great, and the People sate all on the Ground on the side of a steep Hill: The Minister preaching to them from a little Tent near the Bottom of the Hill. The Laird of *Claverhouse* with his Dragoons came on with great Fury, like a Troop of Wolves to fall upon a naked and defenceless Flock of Sheep, and not expecting any Resistance, kept no Scouts out before him; when on a sudden they were challeng'd, and bid Stand, by an Out-Guard of the persecuted; who finding them come on, fir'd at them, and retreated to the main Body. But the Dragoons were a second Time surprised, when they found a large Body of Men advantageously posted, the first Line of whom fir'd a Volley of shot upon them, and kill'd and wounded of them 16 or 17 Men, and some Horses.

This brought them to halt, and prepare for Battle: They took not much Time for it, but came on again with great Fury, but found that the persecuted had a large Ditch cast up in their Front, with a low old ruined Wall, which serv'd them as a Parapet, from whence they fir'd with more Security, and so well they plyed them with their shot, that after 2 or 3 Attempts they gave it over, and retreated, having lost about 30 Men kill'd and wounded; and found that they had to do with Men resolv'd to die, and sell their Lives as dear as they could. There were some of the persecuted who signaliz'd themselves upon this Occasion; and who leaping over their Works advanc'd so near them, as that once a young Gentleman laid Hands on the Bridle of *Claverhouse's* Horse, and had certainly taken him Prisoner, if he had been well seconded. This was Mr. *Clelland*, who 18 Years after was Lieut. Col. to the Earl of *Angus's* Regiment, which was rais'd among these very People at the *Revolution*, and was call'd, the *Cameronian Regiment*, being raised and compleated in one Day without Beat of Drum. This was the same Regiment, now call'd *Preston's*, which was at the Attack of the late Rebels at *Preston* in *Lancashire*. And this Gentleman Lieut. Col. *Clelland* was unhappily kill'd at *Dunkeld* against the same *Claverhouse*, then Viscount *Dundee*.

This Action began to make the persecuted terrible to the Council: And had they continued to have acted thus upon the Defensive only, it was thought they would in Time have ruin'd the Troops of their Persecutors. But their pushing Things to Extremity afterwards ruin'd them and all their Friends.

It is easie to believe, that this Check enrag'd the Soldiery to the last Degree: Many of the Persons who had thus appeared being known; were after this oblig'd to flye, for Fear of falling into the Hands of their Persecutors, but the Heads of the Actors, finding there was no going back to their own Houses, they unhappily resolved to keep together: And this begun the *Rebellion* of *Bothwell-Brigge*: For, encourag'd by Success, and made desperate by the Extremities they were driven to, they in less than four Days found themselves near 2000 Men, very well arm'd and furnish'd; upon this they

march'd to *Glasgow*, and were encreased in a few Days more to between 6 and 7000 Men.

Their Friends now began to be in pain for them, because *England* was more immediately concern'd to reduce them now, as well as *Scotland*. And the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent down from thence to command the Army.

This was, I say, that well known Insurrection of *Bothwell-Brigge*: And it was call'd *Rebellion*, because they Declar'd against the King: They were afterwards attack'd by the D. of *Monmouth*, while they were irresolute, and consulting whether to yield or defend themselves, and were defeated.

It is not any part of the present Work to give the Particulars of this Rising. From the Action mention'd to the Defeat, it is sufficient to observe, That in this Action there was between 3 and 400 kill'd, and about 1200 taken Prisoners: The rest escaped, and disperst themselves as well as they could; no were the Persecutors at all satisfy'd with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Conduct, who refused, at their Request, to let the poor People be persued and massacred by the Dragoons: Not failing to make a Complaint against him to the Court of *England* on that Head, and to have it improv'd to his Disadvantage.

Many were the unhappy Consequences of this Insurrection, as well to those who were not concern'd in it, as to those who were: For tho' the Duke of *Monmouth*, as General of the Army, restrain'd the Rage of the Soldiery as above from the Inhumanity of a Hot-Blood Execution; yet his Command ceasing, and himself returning immediately after to Court, the Persecutors took pains to shew the World, that they could act with more Cruelty in Cold Blood, than Men of Honour, and of Christian Clemency could find in their Hearts to suffer, even in the Heat of Victory.

For now they gave themselves a full Swing in all their Bloody Measures, letting loose the most Bloody Agents of Tyranny to execute whatever their private Rage, as well as publick could dictate to them: Under the Pretence of rooting out *Rebellion*, and of executing Justice, they persued the Innocent as well as the Guilty; and put to Death Hundreds of People by all manner of Cruelties; and on the meanest Pretences imaginable: Nay often without any Pretence at all, and that in the most Barbarous manner.

It is impossible here to enter into the Particulars of the Murders committed upon this occasion. And if I should take all the verbal Relations, that I have met with in conversing among those that were Eye-Witnesses of the Cruelties of that Time, it would exceed, if we compare the Smallness of the Country, and Numbers of the People concern'd, I say it would exceed all that ever was set down in any History of Persecutions, whether of *Popish*, or *Heathen* Tyrants.

The first Year after this Insurrection, was wholly taken up in searching after, and persuing those who were actually in the Army; but had, by the Mismanagement, as they call'd it, of the Duke of *Monmouth*, made their Escape. For, by the Way, their Desire was, that when the Body that defended the Bridge were defeated, and the rest began to disperse and flye, they should have been all surrounded, and cut in pieces, or persu'd, and no Quarter given them, 'till not a Man of them had been left to carry News to *Glasgow* of the Defeat. And this having fail'd, they resolv'd, if possible, to find out every Man that had been at *Bothwell*, and put them to Death wherever they found them, upon the very Spot.

In Order to this, they neither requir'd much Evi-

dence of the Fact, nor took the pains to examine the Persons themselves : But, if it was but said to them, that such a Man, or such Men had been at *Bothwell-Brigg*, they immediately sent the Soldiers to their Houses, who were to ask them no Questions, but seize upon them, drag them just out of the Doors, and shoot them dead in a Moment. How many poor innocent Men, after protesting in the solemnest manner, That they had not been any Way concern'd in the *Bothwell* Affair, have they shot to Death with those Protestations in their Mouths ! and when they have fallen on their Knees, and begg'd but for 2 Minutes Time to recommend their Souls to GOD, have deny'd them, and shot them kneeling as they were, with that Request in their Mouths.

It would make any Christian Man's Heart tremble to read the Blasphemies, the Oaths, the Cursings, and the Insultings of those People, over the poor Men and their Families, when they dragg'd them thus out of the Arms of their Wives and Children, to Massacre them.

Add to this, the Usage others met with in Order to extort Confessions from them of their being at *Bothwell-Brigg* Rebellion ; obliging Men by Horrible Tortures to accuse themselves, and weak Women and Children to accuse their Husbands, Fathers, Brothers, and nearest Relations ; putting Fire-matches between their Fingers, or under their Joints ; stripping stark naked the most modest and tender Women and Children, and thrusting them out in the Extremity of Cold ; and a Thousand other Violences, too many to give an Account of, in Order to discover those who were at this Insurrection of *Bothwell*.

Of the Prisoners taken at *Bothwell*, and executed for Rebellion, I shall say the less ; because putting Men to Death who are taken in Arms is nothing but what is usual in such cases : Not but that as the occasion of that Insurrection was merely the Cruelty and Violence of Persecution for Conscience. We must account those who were executed in cold Blood afterwards, as all dying by the Hand of Persecution, and for the Cause of Religion : And this was fully demonstrated by Mr. *John King*, and Mr. *John Kid*, 2 Ministers taken in the Action at *Bothwell*, and put to Death at *Edinburgh* on that Account.

But when we come to speak of the Usage given to the rest of the Prisoners, who they did think fit to put to Death by the Hangman : There we shall see the Spirit of Persecution in the Abstract ; and such Articles of Cruelty as are not to be equal'd in *Diolesian* or *Maximinian* ; such as are not to be found in the *Irish* Massacre, or perhaps in any of the most Bloody and Barbarous Persecutors. No, not in *D'Alva* himself ; or even in the *Spanish Inquisition*.

There was as is said, about 1200 Prisoners, few more, or less, taken at *Bothwell*. These were in general stript by the Soldiers of what Cloaths they had upon them, that were any Thing valuable, and driven like a Herd of Beasts, bound two and two to *Edinburgh* ; where they were kept several Weeks in a Church-yard wall'd in, being strictly guarded, and allow'd no Lodging but the Earth ; neither any Covering but the Heavens ; either to shelter them from Wet, Cold, Sun or Wind, altho' many of them were very sore wounded. After this trifling Severity, a pretended Mercy was extended to them, viz. That such of them as would sign a Bond condemning their whole Cause, acknowledging it to be Rebellion, declaring it unlawful to Take Arms against the King upon any Pretence whatsoever ; and bind-

ing themselves in a Penalty not to do so at any Time thereafter were let go.

Many took this Declaration, and sign'd this Bond, being not able to endure the Severity of that Usage which they were exposed to in the Church-yard, which however others call'd Trifling. But many of them refused to accept of Deliverance, upon such Terms as were against their Principles, and as trampled upon the Blood of their Brethren who had dy'd in that Quarrel. These were near 400 ; and the *Council* not thinking it proper to set the Hangman to Work upon them all ; above 50 having already been put to Death, found out new and unheard of Ways of Murthering the greatest Part of them altogether ; About 300 of them having receiv'd a general Sentence of Transportation to the *English Colonies in America* ; a Ship was found which as was pretended was bound to *Jamaica*, or rather was hir'd by the Government to Transport these poor Victims to *Jamaica* ; where they were to be sold as Slaves. On board this Vessel these People were ship'd. Some have ventur'd to tell us, That so great a Number could not possibly have gone to *Jamaica* in that Ship ; That the Vessel was by no Means able to have carry'd fresh Water and necessary Provisions for so great a Number, and so long a Voyage. And moreover, upon Examination we have been told that it did appear, That no proportion of Provisions for such a Number and such a Voyage was in the Ship at that Time : All which, if true, serve to prove, That what was afterwards wickedly done was the Horrid Contrivance and Bloody Instructions of the Persecutors, who had resolv'd the Destruction of the poor Sufferers whatever it cost.

The Ship sail'd, as above, and whether by Stress of Weather, Negligence or Wickedness, it is not material ; neither could the poor Prisoners who were lock'd under Hatches judge of it. But this is certain, that coming near the Northernmost part of *Scotland* near the *Orkneys*, the Ship was driven on shoar amongst the Rocks, and stuck fast. The Ship's Crew sav'd themselves, and all that belong'd to them ; and all the Prisoners, had they been allow'd to shift for themselves, would have been sav'd with Ease enough ; but the Officer set over them would not suffer the Hatches to be opened, neither could any Entreaty prevail upon him to let one Soul of them out, 'till the Ship being dashed to Pieces, they were all of them drowned in the Hold, except only, that an Honest Seaman, seeing, and being struck with Horror at so Barbarous an Act ; ventur'd his Life to go on Board, and with an Axe cutting thro' the Deck of the Vessel got Forty nine of them out alive ; the rest being about Two Hundred and fifty perished together. After this Piece of Cruelty is related, I think I need make no Apology for having said, That the Reign of *Diolesian*, or any of the most Cruel Persecutors of God's Church could not match it : For these were Men delivered, Men to whom Life was granted ; after the Decimations and Drafts made out of them for the Gibbet and Scaffold were over, these were sentenc'd to Transportation ; but given up to be Murther'd in the most Inhumane and most Unprecedented Manner, such as I believe no History can shew the like of.

Another Ship which had 60 or more of these Banish'd Men put on board her, whereof several were Ministers, and being oblig'd by the Act of Navigation, really for she was bound for *Jamaica*, to go first to *England*, there by the Good Providence of God, some Misunderstanding happening between the Owners and Freighters of the Vessel, upon the

Terms of Charter-Party, the Ship was not permitted to go the Voyage; and the poor Sufferers got their Liberty, no Thanks to their Persecutors.

There was near an Hundred others Transported in several Ships; some to one Country, some to another; besides about 30 of the same *Bothwell-Brigg* Prisoners, that dy'd in Prison either of their Wounds, or otherwise by Distempers contracted in their Confinement, and by the Cruelty of their Keepers.

But this was not an End of the *Bothwell-Bridge* Affair: For, as I said before, it was made for some Years the Subject of the Strictest Inquisition; and Abundance of poor People were Murder'd in Cold Blood by the Persecutors on Pretence of their having been at that Rebellion; as shall appear in its Place.

In the Time of these Transactions the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrew's*, the most Fierce and Cruel Persecutor of the Good People aforesaid; and One, who, as was reported, had declared it as his Opinion, That they were not a People fit to live; but ought to be extirpated from the Face of the Earth, was himself cut off by the Hands of some Men, whose Zeal carrying them beyond their Patience, took upon them this Execution, as a Thing they had a Right to, as they supposed; there being no Way to obtain Publick Justice any other Way.

There have been several Accounts given in Publick of this Man's Death; the Truth and Impartiality of which I have much Reason to question, not only because I have heard it other Ways related; but because those Accounts have manifest Contradictions in them, both as to the Manner and Circumstances of the Fact, and as to the Persons concern'd in it; neither shall I say any more than this for the Relation here set down, than that it came immediately from the Mouth of one of the Persons concern'd in it; and shall be repeated as near as possible in the very Words.

'We were (says this Person) a poor People made desperate by the Violence of our Persecutors; and still more so for Want of Opportunity and Strength to resist them by Force; which in Case of such manifest Injustice as we daily receiv'd, we had very much Will to do, and believ'd was not only lawful, but our Duty: And on this Principle we acted before at *Pentland*, and afterwards at *Bothwell*; which we believe were very Lawful and Justifiable Actions; however, it pleased not the Lord to give us Success therein. In the Pursuit of this Opinion, it was proposed at a Meeting, whether we being therefore, tho' suppress'd by Power in a State of War, with our Persecutors, who had illegally vow'd our Extirpation; it were not lawful for us to destroy them by Surprise, or by attacking them as well a-part, as together, wherever we could find them; and it was unanimously agreed, That it was Lawful. Next it was proposed, That whereas all Appeal to the Publick Justice being deny'd us; and all Remedy against our Oppressions, That is to say, such as the Civil Magistrate ought to yield us, being render'd impossible, we might, and ought endeavour to execute that Justice which God Himself had Denounced against Murderers; and which God had by His Own Law deputed to the next of Kin. That the Persons here put to Death were Murder'd, nay even Butcher'd many of them without so much as any Pretence to the Legal Forms, and ordinary Course of Justice, being Kill'd in Cold Blood by the Raging Soldiers, or by Bloody minded Persecutors, back'd and supported by the said Soldiers; and this by meer Surprise, and Ravenous Unguided Rage, being equal to Assassination, or

'rather something like being devour'd by Wild Beasts or Savages.

'That upon such as Murder'd without Law, Justice was to be executed without Law, and the Sword of God was in every Injur'd Man's Hand to Execute the Divine Justice on such; i.e. Justice being also to be had from Men, those who bore the Sword, not bearing it in vain only but joyning themselves to, protecting, and aiding these Murderers, and therefore bearing equal Guilt art and part with them.

'This likewise was resolv'd upon in the Affirmative; whereupon we who were then present, and whose Souls were fir'd with Zeal for God's Glory, resolv'd with *Phineas* to Execute Justice on those who had thus lifted up their Hand against the Lord's People, wherever they might be found; and to place our selves in the Room and Authority of the Avenger of Blood for our Innocent Brethren, who were destroy'd and cruelly Murthered for the Cause of God and the Testimony of a Good Conscience.

'In this our Zeal, and fortify'd with such Considerations as these, 5 Men of our Number, Arming our selves, plac'd our selves in Ambush, with Design to Execute God's Justice upon the Laird of _____, a Cruel and Bloody Persecutor of God's People; and who had, not many Days before, put to Death several of our Brethren in the Province of *Fife*. This was our Intent, neither had we at that Time any Thought or Expectation of any other, when we were surpriz'd with an Account from one of our Number who was at a Distance; that the Arch-Enemy of God and his People, the Prelate of St. *Andrew's*, was passing on the Road in his Coach.

'It was immediately suggested to us, that albeit we had missed of the Man who we had sought for; yet God had by a Wonderful Providence delivered the Great and Capital Enemy of his Church into our Hands; and that it was a Visible Call to us from Heaven not to let him escape: That he had been a Notorious Persecutor of God's People, and a Vile Murderer of our Brethren; particularly in that, when the King himself sent his Commands to the Council in the Year 1686 after *Pentland Rising*, That no more should be put to Death; which Command was sent in Writing directed to the said Privy Council, and was deliver'd to the said Bishop; yet that he had kept the said Written Order in his Pocket 'till the last 10 Persons mentioned in this Work p. 68, who were then in Prison, were put to Death; and that now was the Time when that Scripture was to be executed by them, *He who spilleth Man's Blood by Man shall his Blood be spilt*: And that they ought not only to believe that God had deliver'd him up into their Hands; but that if they let him escape it should be required of them and of their Brethren, as in the Case of King *Ahab*, 1 *Kings* 20. 42. *Because thou hast let go out of thy Hand a Man who I appointed to utter Destruction; therefore thy Life shall go for his Life, and thy People for his People*.

'Fortify'd with these Principles, and particularly with this Thought, viz. how wonderfully God had deliver'd this Great Enemy into our Hand; we resolv'd that he should not escape. However, one of our Number declined acting therein, having a private Reason against his bearing part in this Work; but not prevailing with us to desist from our Resolution, which we thought we had a Call from Heaven to finish, he withdrew from us, standing at a great Distance, so as to have no Hand in the Action; in which Case the Hand of God was

farther remarkably seen by the Consequence : For, that none of us ever fell into the Hands of the Enemy, or were put to Death for this Fact, but that one Person, *viz. Hackston of Rathillet* who really had no Share in the Work, but refused to joyn with us therein as before.

Having resolv'd, *as I said*, That this Enemy should not escape the Judgment of God by our Hands ; we rode after him, and coming up to the Coach, quickly stopped the same, and disarming his Servants, we gave him Notice of our Resolutions, letting him know his Offences ; and in serious Terms exhorting him to give Glory to God, by Confessing his Guilt, and that he would repent heartily for the Wickedness of his Ways, and the Innocent Blood that he had shed ; for that, now his Time was come to dye for the same.

It was some Time e'er we could convince him, That we were in Earnest resolv'd to put him to Death ; and he seemed to smile at what we had said about the Wickedness of his Life : His Daughter also who was with him in the Coach, railed on us with much Evil Language. But thereafter, causing her to come forth of the Coach, we let him know, that his Moments were very few ; that we would wait for him yet a little while, and exhorted him not to trifle with his Soul, but to call upon God for Mercy : After which, seeing us indeed in Earnest, he began to entreat for Life : But we soon let him know, we were not to be put by our Purpose for any Entreaties that could be used, and that there was no Mercy to be shown to him, who had shewn no Mercy. Hereupon he began to think of Death. *But hear just the very Words of the Person who related the Story.* Behold ! God did not give him the Grace to pray to him without the Help of a Book. But he pull'd out of his Pocket a small Book, and began to read over some Words to himself, which filled us with Amazement and Indignation. However, waiting some Time, and then calling again upon him to commend his Soul to God's Mercy, for that he should immediately dye ; we fir'd upon him with our Pistols : When finding he was not yet dead, and remembering that it had been reported, that he had used Sorcery, in Order to defend his Body, and that he was invulnerable ; and withal to rid him of Life with as little Torture as we might, we slew him with our Swords, and departed.

This Relation of the Action coming from the Mouth of one of the Actors, has not only that Authority for its Currency ; but even seems in its self to be most consonant with all the other Accounts of it which have been made publick ; and is believ'd to be a very Just and Faithful Account, both of the Killing the Bishop, and of the Circumstances going before it.

The Reason why this Account is made publick in this Place, tho' some Time after the Fact, is on the following Account.

The Spirit of Persecution was now come to the Height, and the Persecutors seem'd to have exerted themselves to the uttermost. The common Methods of Cruelty in putting to Death by Process and by Forms of Law were exhausted, and they behoved to find out a more summary Way to proceed ; for there were Persons to be destroy'd, against whom they had nothing to alledge, nor any Proof to be made against them of any Fact. And it was necessary to find out some Way or other, first to make the whole Body guilty, and then to make Men their own Accusers, charging themselves with belonging to the Body or Society, by owning the Principles upon which they acted.

This is that unheard of Part, which constitutes this Persecution to be the most Inhuman of all the Persecutions which we read of, either before or since the Primitive Age of the Church of God ; and by which the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland are distinguish'd from the Sufferings of all that ever went before them.

And what Reproach must the Practice of these Times leave upon the Episcopal Party now alive in Scotland ; many of whom were real Actors in the Cruellest Part of this Tragedy ! Nay, saying that the Author of this would not by naming of Names, load the Heads of some who are at the Writing of this, under the just Prosecution of the Government for Treason and Real Rebellion. He could single out the Persons of some that are now in the Hands of Justice ; who were among the most Bloody and Raging Persecutors of those Times : But omitting their Names, however just the Reflection, he cannot but lead them by the Hand to this just Observation, *viz.* How Righteous is that Providence, which causes them to lye at the Feet of a Provok'd Sovereign, Crying for Mercy, AND TO BE DENYED ; who Denied Mercy to so many of their Innocent Neighbours and Fellow-Creatures ; who were Guilty neither of Treason or Rebellion ; but only of Worshipping the Great Creator of all Things according to His Command ; and in such a Manner as the Authority of Conscience made their indispensable Duty.

But to return to the Facts : Prosecutions in Forms of Justice, *as I said*, seem'd now at an End ; the Methods of drawing Blood seem'd to be exhausted, tho' the Thirst of Blood was not quench'd. The Number of Prisoners to be dragg'd to Execution, or Informers to accuse particular Persons either were few, or too few, to satisfy the voracious Appetite of the Persecuting Party : Nor was it particular Persons, but the whole Body of Christians in the Denomination of *Whigs*, whose Blood they resolv'd to shed.

Being therefore unsatisfy'd with the personal Guilt of such who had been at *Bothwell-Briggs* ; or such as could be found at Field-Meetings ; whose Number, tho' daily great, were but few, when compar'd with what they resolv'd to fall upon. They proceeded now to sum up their Profession into Generals ; to form them into Principles ; and then make those Principles Criminal : By which Method they knew they should infallibly involve the whole Body of those People in such Circumstances, as would entitle the Government to a Right to put them to Death. The Case was thus.

1. They knew, That these persecuted People esteem'd themselves engaged by the *National Covenant* in the Solemnest Bond imaginable : That it was the Oath of God ; that no human Power could dissolve the Obligation ; And that the breaking it as it had been broken, was no less a Crime than a National Perjury.
2. They look'd upon the King as an Enemy and Persecutor of God's People ; as a Prince perjur'd, by his Breaking and Renouncing the Covenant ; and guilty of involving the whole Nation in the same Detestable Crime of Perjury : Also they look'd upon him as a Persecutor of God's Church, and a Bloody Destroyer of his People. And for these Reasons they could not satisfy themselves to pray for him, or say to him, God speed.
3. As for the Killing the Arch-Bishop of St.

Andrew's, they did not esteem it a Murder, or an Assassination; but esteeming themselves to be in Open War with him, and with all the Members of that Bloody Society, call'd *The Council of Scotland*; who had treated them and their Brethren with Barbarity as Enemies to Mankind; and had by all Kinds of Cruelty and Inhumanity without Law; except such as their Lust of Blood form'd into Acts of Council, and contrary to the Constitution had call'd Laws; and to which they gave the Force of Laws; put their Brethren unjustly to Death; which they esteem'd Murder of the vilest Sort, esteeming these Men, I say, by their Bloody Doings to be Blood-Suckers, Murderers, and open declared Enemies to God and Man: They thought it just, *as in Time of War*, to pursue them to Death in what Manner they could, and wherever they could, and wherever they might be found.

4. As to the Taking Arms at *Pentland* and at *Bothwell*, and other Places; they would by no Means admit it to be Rebellion; Because Nature dictating Self-Defence to all Creatures to whom it has given a Life to defend. And they being attack'd by the Arm'd Troops of their Persecutors, while they innocently and peaceably performed their undoubted and indispensable Duty, viz. the Worshipping God according to his own Institution; they thought themselves bound by the Laws of Nature, and allowed by the Laws of God to defend their Lives, and the Lives of their Wives and Children.

As the poor People maintain'd these Principles with the greatest Exactness; and persisted to do so with the greatest Constancy: So their Persecutors knew well what Use to make of this Steady Adherence to their Principles; and how to make it a Handle to them to take Hold of the otherwise most innocent and inoffensive part of the People, and drag them to immediate Execution without further Process. And this Device they question'd not would serve them to destroy and extirpate the whole Body of the People, as they owned was their Design.

To this Wicked and Barbarous Purpose they fram'd 4 Questions upon the Heads above-mentioned; which they resolv'd to have offer'd to the persecuted People upon all Occasions; and to which they should oblige the said People to give an immediate direct Answer: On refusing which Answer, or not answering to their Minds, they were immediately to be put to Death. And here is to be noted, that *as it was said*, the late Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, Gen. *Dalsiel*, and several others of the fiercest of the persecuting Council had often complain'd, That the Formalities of the Law, that is to say, bringing Men to the Bar, and to be Try'd by Judges, Juries, Hearings, Pleadings, &c. were Obstructions to the King's Service: So the present Council, proceeding by the same Rules of Cruelty, resolv'd to make shorter Work with them; and therefore, that the Forms of Process, bringing to Prisons, and to Tryals, might not delay, or encumber the Execution, and prevent the dispatching the innocent Victim fast enough. They decreed, That every private Soldier, *an Army of whom they had now Quarter'd upon the persecuted People*, should have Power to tender the said Questions to every Man they met, or to whom they pleased; and upon refusing to answer, the said Soldier was empowered

to kill them upon the Spot; and lest I may be thought to do this General *Dalsiel* an Injury, and record of him any Thing which was not suitable to the rest of his Practice; who, if Fame belies him not, was a Man as void of Humanity, as most that ever Heaven permitted to live. I say, that I may not wrong him, I shall give the following brief Account of an Action of his, or a Specimen of his compassionate Temper; by which the Character of the Man may be guess'd at without Breach of Charity. It was soon after the Rising at *Pentland*, when he had been sent into the Shire of *Air*, to make search for, and put to Death such of the poor People as he could find were in the said Rising. He sends a Lieutenant with a Party of Men to *New-Mills*, and order'd them to seize and bring to him an honest poor Man, whose Name was *Finlay*, and who was peaceably living in his own House, nor had he been at all in Arms: When his Men brought the Prisoner to him he examin'd him privately, *no Witness being by*; and with a kind of Civility, unusual to him, whether he had been at *Lanerck* with the Rebels? The Man answer'd, He was at *Lanerck* upon his private Business when their Army came thither; and told him what his Business was, offering to prove the Truth of it; and declared, That he was not in Arms, or had any Weapon with him: Neither did he go among them: Then he ask'd him if he remembred any of those he saw among them, and who they were? The Man declar'd he did not; whereupon he calls for the Lieutenant, and order'd him to carry that Man to the Gallows, and have him shot to Death: For that he had confest he was with the Rebels. The poor Man being brought to the Place in a great Hurry and Surprise asks the Lieutenant, if the General was in Earnest; the Lieutenant said he feared he was: However being a Civil Man, and loth to Execute such a Cruel Commission, and the poor Man protesting his Innocency, and entreating him as a Christian, that at least he might have a Reprieve for that Night, that he might prepare for Death and Eternity. The Lieutenant, I say, upon this goes back to the General, and laying before him the poor Man's Case, entreated him to grant him a few Hours Time to prepare for Death: But the General flying out in a Rage at the Lieutenant, and with Horrid Oaths and Blasphemies commands him to return, and tells him he would teach him to obey his Orders after a better Manner, than to come back and make himself an Advocate for Rebels: Upon this, the Lieutenant went back directly to the Man, and immediately shot him dead upon the Spot.

This and such as this was their Temper at that Time: And I think I may say they were now come to the Height of their Fury. The Measure of their Cruelty fill'd up apace; all the French Dragooning, the Popish Burnings, the Heathen Torturings that we read of in the World, scarce ever came up to this. In all those cases, the Sufferers were brought before Judges and Magistrates, Officers of Justice, and Men in Power. But such was the Thirst of Blood here, that they appeared willing to strip themselves of their Magisterial Authority, and make every private Sentinel, every Musquetier, both Judge, Jury, and Executioner.

Never was Justice Executed in such a summary Way as on this Occasion: For now the Soldiers fill'd the Streets and High-Ways with Blood: Men, Women, nay, and little Children were dragg'd out of their Houses, from their Shops, Trades and Labour to immediate Death, without Warning, without Pity, and without Time given them to call upon God for Mercy to their Souls.

Nor was the Life of the most Innocent Person safe at this Time from the Rapine of the Soldiers : For now, it was the easiest Thing in the World for private Revenge to be pursued to Blood ; and it was in the Power of the Soldiers to execute the greatest Villany with Impunity : They had no more to do but to Rob, Ravish, Insult, Plunder, and commit what Wickedness they pleased, and adding Murther to the rest, say, the Person Murther'd refused to answer the Questions.

These Questions model'd according to the Heads before recited, were thus,

1. Will you renounce the Covenant ?
2. Will you Pray for the King, or will you say God bless the King ?
3. Was the Killing the Archbishop of St. Andrews Murther, yea or no ?
4. Was the rising at *Bothwell Brigg* Rebellion, yea or no ?

It should have been observ'd before this, that in order effectually to suppress these persecuted People, and to finish the ruin of the Country, the Government had raised what the Country People call'd the *Highland Host*. The Account the Persecutors gave of this was, 'That the *Loyal Clans* offered their Service to his Majesty, to bring into the Field a body of Men, from among their Vassals and Servants, compleatly arm'd, who were to march whither his Majesty should please to command them, for the suppressing of the Rebellion, and for preventing the Rebels and Whigs from gathering in Troops, in the Western Shires.

On these pretences, those *Highlanders*, little better than Barbarians, and in some Cases much worse, were arm'd and taken into the Service of Satan, and some time after the *Bothwell Brigg* affair, were order'd to the Number of 8000 men to Quarter upon the suffering People, in the Shires of *Air*, *Galloway*, and other the Western Shires : There they exercis'd all the Rapine, Violence, Robbery and Wickedness, over and above the Murther, and shedding of innocent Blood, of which we are just going to speak, that may be expected from an un-govern'd Souldiery, or that could be practis'd upon, or suffered by a People, given up to the lust and rage of a crew of Savages.

In this posture stood the publick Affairs as to the Persecutors, yet their rage receiv'd no abatement ; the very thought of the Spirit, and undress'd courage of the Persecuted, gall'd and exasperated them : To see a set of Men living like wild Creatures in the Mountains, and yet there, in spite of human Power, freely preserved the Liberty of their Principles, and met publicly and frequently in mighty Numbers, for the worship of God ; and that it was impossible for them, either to apprehend or prevent them ; this provok'd them to the last Degree : They found now, that as these wandering Outlaw'd People must be, and indeed so they really were, harbour'd and reliev'd at the greatest Peril by the People in the plain Country, the only way left to extirpate them more effectually, was to ruin and impoverish the whole Country, that the banish'd proscrit'd Refugees, might have no relief from them ; and to make it punishable in the highest manner, and as the most capital Crime for any so much as to talk with, much less entertain, comfort, relieve and support one of those, who, as they call it, were intercommun'd ; and this was so severely put in Execution, that we find among their lists of their Butcherys by the Hangman ; one *Ramey* executed only for going over a River in a Ferry Boat, with one who had been a Rebel, and

talking with him in common, as with other Men in the Boat.

But all these cruelties were not yet able to extirpate a race of Men, By whose Sufferings the Grace and Mercy of God was to be made so conspicuous in the World : NAY so far was it from that, that on the other hand, the Numbers of them daily increased, even under their very Persecutions, as was the Case in the Primitive times of the Church, their Field Meetings grew more frequented, and were more publicly held, and that with such Multitudes as were scarce credible to relate.

Nor were the zealous persecuted People prevail'd upon, to abate one Tittle of the Testimony, which they thought themselves oblig'd to bear against the Wickedness of their Enemies, and that particularly in two Points.

1. Their National Perjury in breaking their Oath to God, and to his People ; (viz.) in breaking and renouncing the Covenant.
2. Their erecting an Episcopal Church, Government which they abhor'd, and which these treated with no other Name than an Anti-christian Prelacy.

Note, They justified the Term Anti-christian, for the Prelatick Hierarchy owning the Supremacy of the King over the Church, whereas they allowed Christ Jesus to be the only Head and King of the Church on Earth.

On the other Hand those two Articles, and especially the open and daring Profession of them, by these persecuted People, was unsufferable, and to the last Degree provoking to their Persecutors ; and the more in that they could neither by all their Cruelties, and most inhuman Usage, deter either those that dyed to abate their open Detestation of these two Things, at their Execution, or those that remained to refrain their open Profession of the same abhorrences, no not for fear of the same Tortures.

Nor could they by all their bloody prosecutions prevent the Field Meetings they so much exclaimed against, where the resolution of the persecuted People, to persevere to their Death, in their opposition to the Prelates, and their adhering to the Covenant, was always expressed in such terms, and the People were so confirm'd in those resolutions, that the Council saw too plainly nothing but Death could put an End to it ; and the whole race of suffering Christians must be destroy'd and extirpated, or they should never Conquer the Opposition they made to the Planting of Episcopacy in that Kingdom, and upon this resolution they proceeded.

In the mean time the Poor People, as if the heat of the Persecution had but served to influence their Zeal, thought themselves oblig'd to declare a War, tho' of a different Nature, against their Persecutors ; and to let them see, that upon a just and equal Principle, they could clear themselves of the Guilt charg'd upon them, of being Rebels against Lawful Authority ; and to this end at one of their publick and most numerous Meetings in the West, they openly declar'd themselves revolted from the Government, 'renounced and disown'd all Allegiance, Obedience, Homage or Duty to the King and his Administration ; as being an Enemy to God and to the Church of God, and therefore not legally constituted, or to be acknowledg'd as their Supream Lord. But *Ipsa Jure* deposed, from all Regal Authority over them, and divested of the Office of a Magistrate, and of the Trust or Charge of Go-

‘verment which was reposed in and devolved upon him, by express Compact, at his Coronation, when he solemnly entered into an Oath and Covenant, with God and his People; and which Oath, Covenant, and Compact he had violated, breaking all the Conditions, and impiously renouncing the Obligation thereof, upon which Oath and the Obligation thereof, all his regal Authority and their Allegiance, were entirely founded; and upon the Breach whereof, their subjection which was limited to the provisions of those Compacts and Covenants was explicitly disengaged and remitted.

This was ‘tis true a bold step, and many of their Brethren seem’d to censure them upon such a desperate proceeding, but it seems they were only such who had Accepted the Liberty mentioned before upon the Terms of a License from the Prelates, which temporising and cowardly Compliance, these zealous People abhor’d as Sinful, and condemn’d as a fainting in Gods Cause, giving over their Constancy, and above all, as a wicked recognition of that Episcopal Authority from which they receiv’d such License; This they call’d Homologating the Legality of what they themselves Condemn’d as Anti-scriptural and Anti-christian, and which they were engaged in the solemnest manner by the Covenant, never to permit, much less submit to in the Nation.

The Censure of such therefore was of no value to them, and they insisted upon the right they had to declare their revolt from their Allegiance to King Cha. II. as their natural Privilege, and as the just consequence of his Breach of the Compact of Government.

The noise the Council made of this Declaration, was strange indeed, how they declared these People Rebels, Mad, Enrag’d, *Scelerates*, &c. People to be abhor’d by Christians, and to be rooted out from the general Society of Mankind, and the like; and seem’d to justify all the inhumanities they at that time resolv’d to practice upon them, and to Legitimate all their Extra-judicial Measures, by the clamour they raised upon them, for this one Action; not foreseeing that in a few Years those same Men should do the same thing, with the next King of the same Race, and call for a Regiment of those same honest persecuted Sufferers, whom they had thus damn’d for Rebels and Parricides, to guard them in the doing it, *as was within the space of 12 Years, the very Case*, as I shall shew in its order.

In this solemn revolt, or renouncing their Allegiance, they repeated the several Acts of Violence and Oppression, which had been practised or authorised by the King, and by his wicked Counsellors, whereby he unhinged all the legal Establishment of their Religion, and subverted all their Religious Liberties: The Kings Supremacy, they call’d a Blasphemous and Sacrilegious Usurpation; being an illegal Anti-scriptural Dominion over the Institution of *Jesus Christ*, and the Ordinances of his own Divine Appointment.

They proceed to declare, that the King had overturn’d all the Fundamental part of the Civil Constitution, subverting the Laws and Liberties of the People, destroying their Civil and Natural Rights, and all the Securities of Life and Enjoyment whatsoever; and that all this was by claiming and assuming a right to an Absolute, Tyrannical Arbitrary Government, by his pretended Prerogative, independent of Law, and superior thereto; all which they declare to be illegal and inconsistent with the Safety, Freedom, and legal Privileges of the People, and with the Oath and Obligation of a King.

These and many other things they gave, as a reason of their revolt from, and renouncing Allegiance to the King, which I am the more particular in, because of their affinity to, and the sanctity they soon after receiv’d from the general Practice of the whole Island, and also to add this remark *viz.* How these poor People were not only handled by their Enemies, but even censur’d by their Friends, for owning those very Principles at the time, upon which the Safety of the whole Nation was found in a few Years to depend; and for professing such Opinions, as in so little a while were judged essential to the publick Safety, and on which to this Day, our Protestant Constitution is founded, *viz.* That Tyrants and Arbitrary persecuting Princes may be Renounc’d, the People may revolt from their Allegiance to them, depose them from their usurp’d Authority, and yet cannot be justly call’d Rebels and Traitors: *Witness the Revolution at Protestant Succession.*

But asking Pardon for this needful Digression, I return to the suffering People, who, however righteous the Principles were which they acted from, were yet for some Years to Drink the Drops of Popish and Tyrannical Persecution, to the full Tryal of their Faith and Patience. For example,

After they had thus declar’d their revolt from, and renounced their Allegiance to the King, and his Instruments of Tyranny, they proceeded in a solemn manner to pronounce the greater Excommunication, in which they Excommunicated the King, and the Bishops, among the Enemies and Contemners of God and his Church. They likewise in the same Declaration protested against a Popish Successor; and declar’d that they would never receive the Duke of York in Scotland, nor admit him to possess the Crown.

Thus I have given the Reader an abridg’d Relation of what was done on their part. But what Tongue can express, or Pen describe the Usage these poor People receiv’d, and the Cruelties they suffer’d on this Account. ‘Not only Time, says a solid Writer of that Day, but Heart and Tongue would fail any Christian to relate all the *Violences, Murders, Plunderings, Extortions, and Insolencies*, that from the beginning of this Persecution have been committed in a military way, besides what has been done in the form and course of publick pretended Justice: IF stabbing, wounding, beating, stripping, and imprisoning Mens persons: IF violent breaking into their Houses in the dead of the Night; beating, wounding, ravishing, and inhumanely abusing Wives and Daughters. IF forcing weak Women by Tortures, such as burning Matches, and other unsufferable Torments to discover, nay accuse their Husbands, Fathers, and dearest Relations. IF driving away their Cattle, spoiling their Goods without respect to Guilt or Innocence; and this in as cruel a manner as ever Scotland had seen, or could have seen, had a foreign Army been in the bowels of their Country. IF all these, and many more such may express our Misery, says this Author, some Guess may be made at the Sufferings of this Church from the Malice and Fury of this wicked prevailing Prelatick party.

But we now come to the methods taken with those persons who they could by no other means lay hold upon. These consisted of two sorts, (1.) Those who having been in Arms, and had escaped the Sword of Battle, were fled to the Mountains: Or, (2.) Those who having been mark’d out for Destruction by their Persecutors were withdrawn to the other: Those Men holding fast their Integrity, and having

many Ministers among them, kept up their Field-preachings, and enjoy'd the Freedom of their Religious Exercises, notwithstanding the most inveterate Rage of their Enemies; and this, as I said already, provok'd the Persecutors to such a Degree that they were not able to contain themselves, but would flye at the Innocent to punish the Guilty, that is to say, who they suppos'd guilty, for other Guilt they had none.

To punish them then as far as they were able, seeing they could do it no other way; *First*, they intercommuned them, as they call it, forbidding any Person to harbour, hide, comfort, or correspond with any of them; or even so much as to salute, or talk with them on the way, on pain of Treason and Rebellion; and of being prosecuted for the same Crimes which those they so harbour'd, comforted; or corresponded with were charg'd with.

In the next place to disappoint them who were wandering about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins, in Dens, and Holes, and Caves of the Earth; and effectually to prevent their being reliev'd or supported from their Friends, Relations, or otherwise; they found it absolutely necessary by Troops of Soldiers who were subsisted by the poor Sufferers, to ruin and impoverish the Country by their various Plunderings and Depredations, rather like Troops in an Enemy's Country, than Troops Bilitied and placed under Discipline.

This was the Case when Justice was transferr'd from the Judges on the Bench to the Soldier in the Field; and this not to the Officers, or Generals; but to the brutal common Soldiers, who neither had Conscience to judge by, Reason to judge from, Sense to guide, Humanity to spare, or Temper to consider who to kill, and who to save.

It would be endless to turn this Account into a Scots Martyrology, or a Register of Barbarities. These Sheets are no way equal to a History of such a length; but keeping myself to the Brevity of Memoirs. *Agreeable to my Title*, I shall give some Specimens of the bloody management of this part of the Work; I mean as to this new fashioned way of Persecution, by delivering a naked defenceless People up to the Fury of the common Soldiers; and some flagrant Instances of this kind will be sufficient to describe the rest.

The first I meet with is the Story of a poor Woman and a young Maiden of about 16 Years old in the West of Scotland, who were cruelly murdered by some Men belonging to *Grierson of Log*, an Eminent Persecutor in that part of the Country. They began by putting the Questions to them abovemention'd; and the first they offered, *as what was most popular at that Time in the World, and best serv'd, as they thought, to expose the persecuted People to the Court*, was that of, *Will ye say God bless the King?* As I have receiv'd this Story from Creditable Witnesses, take it as follows: The Woman told them she would pray to God to forgive the King his Sins: The Maid said she would pray that God would please to give the King Repentance: But it would be an impious Thing, said the Woman, to pray to God to save, that is, to bless a Covenant-breaking perjur'd Magistrate, and in the Prosecution of his Perjury too: And they both declar'd it was against their Consciences, their Principles, and the Covenant; and that therefore they could not do it. The Woman said boldly, That while the King was a Persecutor of God's People he was an Enemy to GOD and to the Church of GOD; and she thought it was an abominable Thing to ask of any Christian to pray for Prosperity to the Persecutors of the Church

of Christ; for that was to say *God speed to them*. Even in the very Persecution itself: She was an undaunted Woman, and challeng'd them to answer her in that particular; but they had nothing to say to her Argument, but thought she would have some Regard to theirs which was, *Pray to God to bless the King—or dye. Will ye kill me*, says the Woman, *because I will not bless those who God curses: the Lord forbid that I should do it, tho' I were to dye a Thousand Times*. Upon this they fix'd a Stake in the Sea at the low Water Mark, and binding the poor Woman and the young Girl to the Stake, let them stand there 'till the Tide flow'd over them and drowned them both, being also tormented almost to Death with the Cold by standing in the Water so long as 'till the Tide was high enough to drown them. However, they both endur'd it with great Constancy, and without the least Offer of Compliance with the barbarous Adversary.

It has been matter of Censure among some, and even of those otherwise in the same Interest, and of the same doctrinal Principles with those People; when they found that they were so severely nice in this particular of praying for the King; seeing they are bid to pray for Kings and all in Authority. But not to make these Memoirs enter into long Disputes of the Points between them and their Persecutors, which is not the work of a Historian, I shall only state and remove the Question in few Words from these poor Sufferers to their Enemies, and leave them to answer it if they know how.

In the first place, it is true they began with these poor Women upon that Question of praying for the King, which was a piece of wicked Policy on their parts; because it was the most popular Question, and by which they thought they made these People odious to the King, and represented them as his particular Enemies; and persuaded him by it to let them go on with their Persecution, which by the way they had much ado to prevail in; for the King who was in himself of a merciful Disposition, being often shock'd with the Accounts of their Cruelties, and often saying openly he would have no more Blood shed. I say, this was a wicked Policy on their Part; for 'tis known they had Three or Four Questions more in their Orders; any of which were of such a Nature, as that the poor People would have suffred Death rather than to have comply'd; for Example, had these Two poor Women answer'd, *Yes, we will say God save the King*; the next Question had been, *Will ye renounce the Covenant?* a Question, which if it were now ask'd in Scotland, I believe there are 50,000 People would as soon renounce the very Name of Christians; that is to say, they would suffer all that humane Nature could suffer rather than do it. So that upon the whole, these People did not suffer for a single Opposition of the King's Lawful Authority as was wickedly charg'd on them; but they were given up to Death by a Party, and they singl'd out such points to question them upon as they knew they could not comply with, that they might destroy them; and if these Questions would not have done it, they would have named others for the Purpose.

Farther, it is evident that they refused praying for the King upon a Religious Principle, not upon a Rebellious Principle; and that as they believed the King, as before, to be an Idolater, a Persecutor, and an Enemy to God and his People. They believ'd that for them to pray for God to bless him would be either to mock God by seeming to pray for what they did not mean, or really to pray to God to bless the King, even in his persecuting

God's People, which would be impious, and was against their Consciences.

As to the other part which the *Objectors* alledge, viz. it was a Trifle, and a Thing so small as that they could not answer to lose their Lives for it; we answer that then much less could those Cruel and Inhumane Persecutors answer to take the Lives of poor innocent Women and Children away for so small a Thing, which in the common Judgment, and by their own Confession, was but a Trifle in its Nature.

Likewise if it was against the Consciences and Principles of the poor People, *tho' we were to suppose them misinform'd or uninform'd*; yet they dyed in a Righteous Cause, not as they dyed for refusing to pray for the King; but as they chose to dye rather than to violate their Obedience to the Sovereignty of Conscience, which is a Principle every Christian ought to adhere to.

Let these things serve for Answers *'till they can be confuted*, to the Persecutors themselves, and to all those who would blacken the Memory of these Conscientious and Zealous People, pretending they were Obstinate, that they threw away their Lives, and that they dyed upon Foundations and Principles which are not to be justified; it is evident they were right in their adhering stedfastly to the known Duty of a Christian, viz. *of suffering the greatest Evil rather than committing the least Sin*. Nay, *tho' they were to have it granted, that they were, as I said above, misinform'd in the Nature of the Thing they suffer'd for*: It might be observed here, that it was the very Argument used with many of the primitive Martyrs in the Time of the Ten Persecutions: That it was a small Thing but to take a Censor in their Hands, *to seem as if they did sacrifice, tho' they did not*; That the Prayer to the Gods was made by the Priests, and it was a Thing of no Consequence to bow the Head, which they might do as to *Cæsar*, and not as to the Gods above; Thus also in the Case of the Martyr'd *Maccabees*, their Persecutors pretended in Clemency to offer them their Lives, if they would but take a bit of Swine's Flesh into their Mouths, *tho' they did not swallow it down*. But with what Abhorrence did they REFUSE! with what Joy and Alacrity did they dye! I mean the primitive Christians as well as the *Maccabees*: In-somuch that the wisest of the Heathen condemn'd them as Fools; for that they cast themselves away, and lost their Lives, not for the Essential parts of Religion, but for Trifles and Circumstances of no Consequence.

I might insist here upon the evident Testimony that God was pleased to give even from Heaven to these suffering People; that the offering up their Lives in this Case was an acceptable Sacrifice to Him, and a reasonable Service in them: And this Testimony was by an almost universal Assistance given them in their Sufferings, filling them with abundant Strength to undergo, Patience to bear, and Comfort, even to Joy and Triumph under the severest and cruellest Torments that their most inhumane Persecutors could inflict. I take this from an Author who was an Eye-Witness of, and a Fellow-Sufferer in much of it; and therefore give the following Account in his own Words, and from his own Observation, *as follows*,

'We shall not, indeed cannot, enter upon the particular Declaration of that Grace, Constancy, and Courage, by which the Lord's faithful Witnesses were sustain'd, and by which they did bear Testimony to the Word of His Truth: Only this is certain, that many of them, *tho' illiterate and obscure Men*, and that when they came to the

'Scaffold they were hurry'd and interrupted by the Order of the Prelates and Council, and by the Cruelty and Inhumanity of the Executioners and Officers attending; yet they did bear Witness to the Cause of God, and of that Grace and Assurance whereby the Lord upheld them to the Admiration and Astonishment of all the Beholders.

'That at *Glasgow and Air*, where Eleven of them were Executed, all mean Countrymen; some very ancient, some not above 17 Years old; and that their Enemies caused Drums to be beat round the Scaffold, that they might not be heard; yet were they so little thereby amaz'd, or disorder'd, that as well by Words of Praise and Thanksgiving to God, when they might be heard; and by their Countenances, Gestures, and other Carriage, they did bear such Testimony to the Truth, as that thereby many were confirm'd, and their Enemies were made asham'd.

'Likewise *tho' some at other Times did appear weak and faint-hearted at first, yet so powerfully and abundantly was it given to them in that Hour*, that out of Weakness they were made strong; and declar'd often, that they had such Discoveries of God's Glory between the Prison and the Gibbet, that all fear was thereby discuss'd: And particularly a poor Country Boy, who they Condemn'd at *Air* for refusing the Declaration, which they told him was a Renouncing the Covenant that he had taken at *Lanark*. This Child thro' Fear, and particularly Ignorance of the Grounds of Christianity, was in great Agonies upon his Soul's Account, greatly fearing to dye, yet not daring to redeem his Life on the Terms offer'd. But after the Prayers and Conference of some good People that had access to him at *Irwin* two Days before he dy'd, he appear'd so much changed, that on the Morning of his Execution instead of the Depth of Fear and Perplexity, he obtain'd a full Resolution and Joy, so much enlighten'd with the Knowledge of God in and thro' our Lord Jesus Christ, and with the Hope of Salvation thro' His Name; that all that saw him, do bear Testimony to the Grace and wonderful Work of God in his Heart; whereby he went to the Scaffold with Joy, leaping and praising God.

'From all which, and the several Testimonies and Speeches which these left behind them in Writing, we conclude and rejoyce, that God out of the dark Cloud of such a sad and astonishing Providence which has now overspread us, hath brought forth so blessed and so bright a Cloud of Witnesses, strengthened and fill'd with so much Grace and Glory to bear Testimony to his Name, Covenant, and Cause, for the Confirmation of all that love and wait for His Salvation.'

A further Testimony of this will be seen in the Speeches of some of the Sufferers at the place of Execution; of which in its Order.

But to return to our Memoirs of Fact, the first Thing the *Highland Forces* were empowered to do, was to press from all the People where they had any Knowledge of their being *Dissenters*, or of their having *Dissenters* in their Families, a BOND of Conformity, as they call'd it; wherein every Person entering into the said Bond was bound, not only for himself, but all under him, viz. Wife, Children, and Servants, to frequent and keep to his *Parochial Kirk*, or *Parish-Church*, and never to go either to any House or Field-Meeting; nor *meet*, that is, receive or entertain any that did so, on any Pretence whatsoever; also to inform against, and to deliver up if in their power, all the Ministers or

Preachers, that exercised the Office of a Minister or Preacher, in any such Meeting or Assembly.

Many thro' Fear, complied with these unreasonable Conditions; not being able to bear the ruin of their Families, and the severity of a Flight into the Mountains, in the Winter Season; where they had no Comfort or Relief, but struggled with the extremities of Cold, Hunger and Diseases, occasion'd by damp Places to lodge in, want of Necessaries, &c. But others resolving to suffer every thing, that Nature was able to support, and to preserve a good Conscience, fled to the Mountains, where they had to their Lot exactly what is described in the 11th of the *Hebrews*, ver. 37, 38. *They wandered about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; they wandered in Deserts, and in Mountains, and in Dens and Caves of the Earth.* This was their Portion, and by this means the Towns were left uninhabited, the Villages desolate, the Lands unlabour'd, i. e. uncultivated, and the richest, most populous, and, in Proportion, the fruitfulest Part of *Scotland*, became a kind of Wilderness, and like a House without the Inhabitant.

By this Means however, and by the Rising at *Bothwell*, mention'd before, the Number of those Refugees in the Mountains increased, and the Meetings in the Fields for Publick Worship were more frequent, which still exasperated the Persecutors; and they, being enraged, omitted no Cruelty, no Injustice, no Inhumanity, for the Destruction of them: They very well knew that the People lurking in the Mountains must of Necessity receive Supplies of Food and Clothes, either from their own Families and Friends which were left behind, or of Charity from others; and therefore as first they took care effectually, by Plunder and Rapine, to leave nothing in the Houses of those that were fled, so they persecuted with the utmost Rigour all that were but suspected of harbouring or relieving them.

I shall begin with the Prisoners taken at *Bothwell*. Mr. *Kid* and Mr. *King*, as has been said, and several others, were executed as Traytors; and, as if their Cruelty had been satisfy'd, it was resolv'd in Council to Transport the rest into the *English Plantations*. Upon the King's Orders and under Pretence of this Transportation, there were 300 of the said Prisoners put on board of a Ship, in Order, as was said, to be sent to the *West-Indies*. These are those of whom Mention is made already, Page 75. of whom this is yet necessary to be said, That altho' they were publicly allow'd Transportation, yet it is certain nothing less than so much Favour was design'd them. Some have said that it was then publicly known that the Council had, notwithstanding the Order from England, determined the Transported People for Death; and, indeed, it seems more than probable, seeing (besides what is said before of their not having sufficient Store of Provisions in the Ship for such a Voyage) they sail'd Northward to go to the *English Colonies in America* directly from *Scotland*; which, by the Constituted Law of those Countries, called the *Act of Navigation*, could not be done, neither would any of those Colonies have received them, but have seized upon and forfeited the Ship and Goods that came with them; so that it is certainly more than a Suspicion that the poor People were design'd for Destruction. The Case was thus, when these poor People, I say, were put on board the Ship, and sail'd out of the *Firth of Edinburgh*, it was expected they should have gone directly to *England*, as Ships bound to the *English Plantations* were always used to do, and as indeed they were obliged by the Laws of *England* to do, as above; but, on the contrary,

they sail'd Northward to the Coast of the *Orkneys*, where, by Stress of Weather, as was pretended, the Ship was driven among the Rocks, and broken in pieces. The Master and Seamen, and the Persons, or Murderers rather, who had the Guard or Conducting of the Prisoners, easily got on Shore, as has been said; and, had they been permitted, all the Prisoners might likewise have done the same; whereas the Officer who had the Guard of the Prisoners, with the Master of the Ship, having, on Pretence of Securing them, lock'd them all down under the Hatches, would not, upon the most earnest and moving Entreaties of even the Seamen and others; nor the Shrieks and Cries of the poor dying People, suffer the Hatches to be opened, or one of them to be let out.

It seems there was one Seaman who ventur'd his Life on board, when the Ship was just breaking to pieces, and, with an Axe cutting his Way thro' the Side or Deck of the Vessel, let about 60 out, who were every one saved, but the rest all perished, as before.

The best Excuse that the Murderers ever gave for this, was, that they had strict Orders, whatsoever Port they should go on Shore at, not to let any of the Prisoners go out of the Ship: But this was so trifling an Excuse that none could be satisfy'd with it, for either they had Orders, That tho' the Ship was stranded or split they should not let the Prisoners out, or they had not; if they had, it must be with an Intent in those who gave those Orders to have them perish in such Shipwreck, as it happen'd, and would give a shrewd Suspicion that such a Shipwreck was intended, especially considering how it afterwards came to pass. If no such Orders were expressly given, then were the Officers Murderers; for it could not be imagin'd that a general Order not to let the Prisoners go out of the Ship, had any other Meaning, than that he should use all Means possible to prevent their Escape; but not that they should be drown'd, or that they should be kept in the Ship when she was sinking, any more than a *Mittimus* to a Jailor, wherein he is to have the Prisoner in safe keeping within his Jail, (suppose of *Newgate*, or any other Prison) gives him Power, or obliges him, if the Prison-house should be on Fire, to suffer the Prisoners to be burnt to Death, rather than open the Doors to let them out.

It is therefore very reasonable to believe that this wretched Instrument, or Executioner, for he could be no better, had his secret Instructions from the bloody persecuting Council for what was done; and that the Ship was knock'd on the Head on purpose to drown, and cause to perish, the Number of poor Sufferers who the Clemency of the Sovereign had forbid to be put to Death in a Judicial way, and who yet the Malice and Rage of the Persecutors would not suffer to live.

Moreover, it has been creditably reported, that those who provided or furnished this Vessel out for her Voyage, acknowledg'd that she was not Victualled at all in Proportion to so long a Voyage, and so large a Number of People as were on board; no, nor any thing like it; nay, it has been said that there was not Provisions on board for the Prisoners, sufficient to keep them alive 14 Days; which, if it is true, would convince an Atheist in such Things, that the Design in putting these poor People on board, was not to Transport, but to Murder them.

Another Argument is still good also against the Persecutors of that Time, viz. If they did not approve of the Officers Murdering these poor People,

why were they not prosecuted and punished for so horrid and inhumane a Murder, the like of which no Protestant Age or Country can give the History of? But, on the contrary, the Master or Skipper, the Officer of the Guards, and all the rest concern'd, had no Punishment, no Reprimand, neither was any thing done to them, to let them or the World believe they had not done them very good Service.

Thus perished 250 of these good People; I call them so on this most justifiable Foundation, (*viz.*) because that tho' they might have their Lives and Liberties given them by the Sovereign, upon Terms, which, in Conscience, they could not comply with, they *loved not their Lives, to the Death, they refused to accept of Deliverance*: And I call it Murder, because, as it is well known the King's express Orders were that *they should not be put to Death*, but be Transported. The suffering them thus to perish, when it was apparent their Lives might have been saved, was not a Murder only in the Officers, but a premeditated malicious Murder in the Council, who so far conniv'd at and approv'd it, as never to offer any Vindication of themselves from it, or any Resentment against the guilty Persons; for it is a Murder of the blackest and most horrid kind, and which, I think, as before, has not its Parallel in any History.

It has been mentioned also, that there were about 60 more of these Prisoners put on board another Ship for Transportation, who, there being no secret Design to murder them, were suffer'd to go by the ordinary Method, and to sail the usual Way (*viz.*) to England; where, as it is already noted, some Difference happening between the Master and Owner of the Ship, so that the Ship did not pursue her Voyage, and the Prisoners having been made the Property of the Owner, not of the Master; the said Master thereupon, (being also a well inclined Person) open'd his Hatches, and let them all go. I mention this again here on this Occasion, *viz.* that it was very observable, in their Case, that the Government here took no Notice of their Escape, nor did the King order any Search after them, or give any Order to retake them, if found: All which evidently proves, that the Cruelties exercised upon these Sufferers in Scotland, proceeded from the Malice and Rage of their Persecutors there, and neither by the Direction or with the Approbation of the King himself; not that this Clemency, which in the King, was rather an Accident to his Nature than a Virtue in his Government, can excuse his permitting these cruel Persecutions, which he had, doubtless, Power to prevent; and therefore was, doubtless, guilty of the Blood that was spilt on that Occasion; which, tho' his Inclination led him not to delight in, yet his Indolence in Government, and his Apostate Principles, suffer'd him to permit. But tho' it is no Excuse to him whose Duty it was to have put a Stop to the Stream of Innocent Blood shed under his Authority, it was, on the other hand, a convincing Evidence of the Bloody Disposition of his Ministry in Scotland, who, thirsting for an Occasion to extirpate the very Name of a Presbyterian Church out of Scotland, dip'd their Hands in Blood in that most inhumane and unnatural manner, till they made all the West of Scotland a Wilderness and a Desolation.

This was the Proceeding against the Bothwell-Bridge Prisoners. We shall now see what Usage they met with who had not been any way concern'd in it.

First, in their Pursuit of the supposed Parties, they established little Inquisitions; and, indeed,

they were very properly called so; for they went round the Country in Circuits, where they enquir'd not only who really and actually were in the Rebellion, but who were suspected or believed to be so; and these they took Lists of, made their Return upon; and after this they summon'd them to appear before them, to clear themselves.

If they did not appear, they reputed them Guilty, and declared them to be Rebels Convict.

If they did appear, they were examin'd why they did not go to the King's Camp, in order to fight against the Rebels; and, if they did not give a satisfactory Answer to those Questions, they were committed to Prison, in order to get others to accuse them; where many innocent Persons perished by long and close Confinement, tho' nothing could be laid to their Charge.

If in these Examinations they effectually clear'd themselves of being in the Rebellion, yet an incredible Number were ensnar'd with other unforeseen Enquiries; some were Imprison'd; some Fin'd above the Value of their Estates; others were Condemn'd to Death, for having but seen and spoken to any of the escap'd Rebels, after they had fled from Bothwell-Bridge; alledging that it was Treason so to do, and not to discover and apprehend them.

If neither by Examination, Confession, or Delation, *super Inquirendis*, (so it was termed in their Law,) they were able to reach them, yet many such were Condemn'd and Executed even for their Simple-declar'd Opinion of it, according to the Questions mention'd before, and which we shall speak farther of presently.

Nor was the Number small or inconsiderable of those who were thus dealt with: There is scarce a County or Parish, in those Western Parts of Scotland, where several have not been thus Condemn'd; nor was it easy to prevent the poor People being drawn into this Snare, for when they were brought before the Council, or the Court of Justiciary, it was often extorted from them by Threatnings of Death, and sometimes by Torture, and upon this single Question, in their Courts of Justice (*viz.*) *Whether the Rising at Bothwell-Bridge was Rebellion, and a Sin against God?* I SAY, many, for refusing to answer it, waving the Question, and declaring that they did not think themselves oblig'd to answer, were Condemn'd, and immediately led away to Execution, for the *Mercy of those Courts was such*, that many were Sentenced in the Morning, and Executed in the Afternoon; nay, some were led immediately from the Bar to the Gibbet, where they were us'd again in the like cruel manner, being not suffer'd to declare their Innocence, or to speak to the People; but the Drums, being placed round them, were kept beating all the Time of their being upon the Scaffold and Ladder, as has been mentioned already.

But to return to the Soldiers, to whom, as I said before, these Cruelties not sufficing, Justice was transposed. When we were talking of the Severities of the Courts of Justice, and the Cruelty of their Executioners, on Pretence of Rebellion, it was sufficient to call it Murder; (for Injustice in Form of Law is the Devil representing an Angel of Light; and killing innocent Men by Legal Process is the worst sort of Murder;) But now we come from Murder to Massacre, for the Soldiers, being now vested with Judicial Authority, went up and down like ravening Wolves, with Mouths open'd to suck the Blood of the Innocent: They seem'd like Men clothed with more Power than they understood, tho' not more than they desir'd; that had a Loose given

to the Excess of what, by their occupation, they delighted in, I mean Blood; had no Sense of Justice; they knew how to kill, but not how to save; they knew how to destroy, but not how to spare.

Their grand Enquiry was for *Bothwell-Brigg-men*, as they call'd them: If they heard casually but the least Report of a Man that he was a *Whig* or a *Cameronian* (for so they began now to be call'd) their way of Process was no more than to enter his House, seize upon his Person, and, telling him he was a Rebel, drag him immediately out to the Street, and shoot him at a Post.

If the Soldiers saw a Man in the Road who seem'd in the least shy of them, or that endeavour'd to shun them, they immediately pursu'd him like Blood-hounds; and, if he fled, fired upon him without any further Enquiry.

If, upon searching any strange Person, they found a Bible about him, it was sufficient to charge him with having been at a Field-Meeting, or that he was going to one; either of which was sufficient to set them upon him like Hounds upon a Hare, when they never ceas'd pursuing till they had brought him to Death.

If when any were dragging thus to Execution, a Stander-by should offer to intercede for them, or look concern'd, seem to pity them, or lift up a Sigh for them, they would lay Hands on them, and cry, 'What are you, Sir, that you seem so much troubled at this? Wherefore do you pity them? Are they not the King's Enemies? And they were all at the Gallows, you should be glad, if you were a Friend to the King. Come, can you answer the Questions?' And thus they have singled out honest Men among the Spectators, by the meer Trouble which appear'd in their Faces and Countenances for the Sufferings of those that have been thus cruelly handled.

And now, to confirm all these Things by Examples undeniable, the few that are made publick are indeed sufficient to silence the Tongues of any that pretend to deny the Fact; but, alas! they are nothing, compar'd to the Number of those that many yet living can give an Account of from their own Knowledge and Memories.

Besides the publick Accounts given by Name, and of which Lists have been printed, we find several Instances of Cruelty not made publick, especially in this Case of the Soldiers having Power given to kill and save as they pleased.

A Lieutenant and three Soldiers passing by the Road, found a Man sleeping on the Side of a Bank, and a small Pocket-Bible lying by him; whereupon one of the Soldiers waking him, brings him to the Lieutenant. The Lieutenant ask'd him who he was: He told him his Name, Place of Abode, and whither he was travelling, (*viz.*) going to *Fife*, being a Weaver by Trade. They ask'd him then if he would pray for the King. He said, *Yes, with all his Heart*: Upon which the Lieutenant was about to let him go; but one of the Soldiers unhappily put in: *But, Sir, will you renounce the Covenant?* The Man hesitated a little; but being urged and insulted, cries out, *Lord, forgive me, that I fear'd to own thy Work*; and then speaking to the Lieutenant, *Indeed Sir, says he, I'll as soon renounce my Baptism, (or to that Purpose,) I know your Power, work your Will with me*; upon which they shot him upon the Spot.

A Party of Dragoons in *Nithdale* had Information that Six *Bothwell-Brigg-men*, as they call'd them, were harbour'd in the House of a Countryman near hand; they immediately beset the House, and, breaking in, they found Four Men there and the Master of the House; and, without enquiring whether they were guilty of the Rising or not,

brought them all out of the Door, and shot them dead, refusing to give them a Minute's Time to pray to God, but swearing and blaspheming when it was but beg'd for by the Persons.

The Writer of this has heard the late Lieutenant-General *Maitland* express great Abhorrence of the Cruelties committed by Major *Balfour*, Captain *Douglass*, General *Dalsiel*, and several others, who would take Pains to search out such Men as they thought did but shun to be seen, and, with little or no Examination, shoot them upon the Spot; which he, being then under Command, could no way prevent: But many times, when Power was in his Hands, he either facilitated their Escape, or otherwise prevented the Mischief intended.

In a Village not far from *Hamilton*, a poor Tradesman was beset in his House, while at his Work, by Five Soldiers, his Name *Lauson*: They call'd to him to come down the Stairs, which he refus'd to do; upon which all the Five Soldiers fir'd at him, but he, being aware, stood by the Wall of the Chamber and avoided the Shot, and then call'd to them and ask'd them wherefore they came to him, he was no *Bothwell-Brigg-man*. Well then, say the Soldiers, *come down, and we will do you no Hurt*. The Man, however, knowing they were not to be trusted, came down, but got out of his Back Door, and jumping over two or three low Stone-Walls of the Gardens, got into the Fields, and took him to Flight, being very swift of Foot, and knowing they had just fir'd all their Pieces: They pursu'd him, and, loading their Musquets as they run, fir'd at him again several Shot; but, by good Providence missing him, the Man escaped to the Hills, but was heard of no more at his own Habitation.

The aforesaid Lieutenant-General *Maitland* was then an Officer among these bloody Troops, and was, with some Soldiers, quarter'd in *Glasgow*; but, being a Man of generous Principles, and of too much Humanity to be guilty of such Things as these, was a great Relief to the persecuted People, for he shelter'd and protected many who otherwise had been murder'd by the Soldiers; and if he was commanded on the Service which he abhorrd so much, (*viz.*) to fall upon the poor People in their House or Field-Meetings, would frequently, by trusty Messengers, give them private Notice, that they might have Time to disperse and be gone away; and would often find out some Occasion to make his Men halt by the Way, that his Messengers might not come too late.

Yet this compassionate Gentleman was forc'd (much against his Will, being under Command) to be present at a Village where three poor Men, Weavers by Trade, were dragg'd from their very Loom where they were at work, and, without Mercy, shot to death. Their Names are in the publick List mention'd before.

They tell us another Story of a Soldier, not so divested of Humanity as most of them were, and who meeting a Man upon the Road who he suspected was one of the poor out-law'd proscrib'd People, as indeed he was; the Man was surpriz'd, and would have got from him, but he saw it was in vain, and yet the Soldier soon let him know that he was not very much inclin'd to hurt him, much less to kill him; whereupon the following Dialogue, as it is said, happen'd between them.

The Soldier seeing the Country-man willing to shun and get away from him, begins thus.

Sold. Hold, Sir, ye mon no gang frae me, I have muckle Business at you.

C. Man. Well, What's your Will then ?

Sold. I fear ye are one of the *Bothwell-Brigg-men*. What say ye to that ?

C. Man. Indeed no, Sir, I am not.

Sold. Well, but I mon speir some Questions at you ; and ye's answer me right, ye and I'll be good Friends again.

C. Man. What Questions will ye ask at me ?

Sold. First, Sir, Will ye pray for the King ?

C. Man. Indeed, Sir, I will pray for all good Men. I hope ye think the King a good Man, or ye wou'd not serve him.

Sold. Indeed do I Sir, I think him a good Man, and ye are all wicked that wo' no pray for him. *But what say you then to the Business of *Bothwell-Brigg* — Was not

* By this Time the poor Man began to see the Soldier was not designing to hurt him, and he took the Hint, and was encouraged to answer as he did.

Bothwell-Brigg a Rebellion ?

C. Man. I wot not weel what to say of *Bothwell-Brigg*: But and they took up Arms there against a good King, without a good Cause, it mun be Rebellion, I'll own that.

Sold. Nay then, I hope thou and I'se be Friends presently, I think thou't be an honest Man. But they have kill'd the Archbishop of St. Andrews, honest Man : O that was a sore Work, What say you to that, was not that Murder ?

C. Man. Alas poor Man ! and ha' they kill'd him ! Truly and he were an honest Man, and they have kill'd him without any Cause, *Weel* I wot it mun be Murder ; What else can I call it ?

Sold. Weel hast thou said, Man : Now I have een but ane Question more, and ye and I'se tak a Drink together. Will ye renounce the Covenant ?

C. Man. Nay, but now I mun speir at you too, and ye like. There are twa Covenants, Man, which of them do you mean ?

Sold. Twa Covenants, say you, what are they ?

C. Man. There's the Covenant of Works, Man, and the Covenant of Grace.

Sold. Fou fa me and I ken, Man ; but een renounce ane of them, and I am satisfy'd.

C. Man. With an my Heart, Sir, indeed I renounce the Covenant of Works with an my Heart.

Upon this Dialogue, if the Story be true, the Soldier let the poor Man pass : But be the Story true or not true, it serves to give the Reader a true Idea of the dreadful Circumstances every honest Man was in at this time, when their Life was in the Hands of every Soldier, nor was the Consequences other than might be expected on such Occasions ; the Fields, the Roads, the Villages every Day bearing Witness to the Murthers that were committed, and to the injurious and abominable things which the poor People suffer'd from the Rage of the Soldiers who were then inhumanely let loose upon them. The following is but a small part of the Account of the Bloodshed in this manner in one part of the Country, and mostly within the Year 1685, by which may be judg'd a little what was suffer'd from the rising at *Bothwell Bridge*, which was in 1679 to the Revolution in 1688.

Graham of *Claverhouse*, the same who was afterwards Viscount of *Dundee*, and was kill'd at the Fight at *Gillicranky*, in King *William's* time, was at this time a most furious Persecutor of these poor People ; it was his Rage in falling upon one of their Field Meetings, where he met with a Repulse, was the Occasion and beginning of which the rising at

Bothwell as have been shewed already. This Man is said to have kill'd above 100 Men in this kind of cold blood Cruelty ; making it his business to follow, and pursue poor People thro' the whole Country, and heaving at his Heels a Crew of Savages, Highlanders, and Dragoons, whose sport was in Blood, and whose Diversion was to haul innocent Men out from their Houses or hiding Places and Murther them ; his Companion in this Work was Colonel *James Douglass*, since call'd Lieutenant General *Douglass*. These two with their Men kill'd 28 Men in a very few Days, and at several places in the Shire of *Galloway*, most of them without the least Evidence of their being Guilty, all of them without any legal Prosecution, and some without so much as Examination.

At their first coming down they found five Men in several Prisons, who had been committed by other Persecutors before their coming : It seems somebody had maliciously told this *Graham* that they were of the Whiggs that used the Field Meetings ; upon which without any Oath made of the Fact, or any Examination of the Men, without any Trial or other Sentence, than his own command, his bloody Soldiers fetch'd them all to *Mauchlin*, a Village where his Head Quarters were, and hang'd them immediately, not suffering them to enter into any House at their coming, nor at the Entreaty of the poor Men, would permit One to lend them a Bible who it seems offered it, nor allow them a Moment to pray to God.

Four more Men who were betray'd to him, being hid in a House at the Water of *Dee*, and were at the Time his Men came praying together ; he caused them to be drag'd just to the Door, and shot them Dead as they came out, without any Enquiry whether they were the Persons that he came to apprehend ; their being found praying to God was it seems sufficient Testimony of their Party and Offence ; after this, coming to the same Place, at two or three Days distance, and understanding the People of the Town had buried the Bodies, he caused his Men to dig them up again, and commanded that they should lye in the Fields : The Names of these four were *John Grier*, *Robert Ferguson*, *Archibald Stuart* and *Robert Stuart*.

At *Camelon* in the County of *Carriek*, he saw a Man run hastily cross the Street before his Troop, and as he might suppose did it to escape from or avoid them, tho' as the People of the Place related it, the poor Man had no Apprehensions of them, but as he took all Occasions for his bloody design, he commanded his Men to shoot this Person, without so much as Examining him, or asking who he was, the poor Mans Name was *Matthew Mekellurral*.

The same Party having intelligence, that there were several of the Whiggs hid in a great Cave among the Hills of *Glencairn*, that the People resorted to them to pray together, and that several Women carry'd them Provision and Coal to burn to warm them, Col. *Douglass* sent a small Party who surrounded the Hill, and drew five Men out of the Cave, it seems there had been near Fifty there just before having met to pray, but were separated again ; had they been all there, *Douglass* had not had them so cheap, for being all Arm'd, it was likely they would have sent him back faster than he came, heaving but 18 Dragoons with him ; these five however, who it seems were betray'd by one † *Watson*,

* Note, God did not permit him to have time at his Death to pray or repent, but he was kill'd even in the very Article of Victory.

† Note, After the Revolution this *Watson* who

this Col. *Douglass* dragg'd out of the Cave and immediately shot them dead, not giving them time so much as to recommend their Souls unto God.

The Names of the murder'd Men were, *Robert Grierson, Robert Michel, James Bennoch, John Edgar, and John Gibson.*

The same wretched Gang coming to a House where they had been inform'd one *Welch* a Field preacher was harbour'd, or was to be found, they rush'd violently into the House; but found not the Man they sought, neither indeed was he there; but they found five Men together, with the Women and Children of the Family all on their Knees at Prayers; whereupon without Examining any farther, they said it was a seditious Meeting which was forbidden by the Council, and thereupon instantly dragg'd out the Men and shot them to Death before the Door.

John Smith, was shot to Death by two Soldiers at *Lismehago.*

William Skillilaw, was shot by one Lieutenant *Saunders* in the River *Air.*

John Ferguson, George Whitburn, and Patrick Gemmil at *Finnick* by two Soldiers.

That murdering Persecutor *Graham* of *Claverhouse*, seeing a Man riding by him on the way, called after him, and the Man not making answer, nor stooping his Horse, *Graham* caused one of his Soldiers to shoot him dead, as he rode along, whereas, upon Enquiry into the matter, it was found that the poor Man was Deaf and could not hear him call to him; the murdered Man's Name was *Robert Auchinleck.*

William Adams, at the *Wallwood* in *Kyle*, going along the way, and seeing some Soldiers at a Distance, hid himself in a Thicket thinking to shun them, but being discover'd by the Soldiers, they instantly shot him without so much as asking his Name, or enquiring after any other Guilt, than his shunning to meet them.

Capt. Douglass seiz'd a Taylor and shot him dead, only because he had some small Pieces of Lead about him, such as the Taylors put in the Sleeves of Women's Clothes; and another of that persecuting Family of the *Douglass*, shot on no other pretence than because he had a Flint in his Pocket; these things it seems they call'd Ammunition: At another House he shot a Man because he attempted to escape from him, tho' he had no Knowledge of the Man or any Charge against him.

Several were kill'd in the dark, being shot by they knew not who, or for what; the Highlanders shot Men for their Sport without asking them any Questions, and answer'd that they could not mistake for all the Country were Rebels.

Most of these mentioned above, were massacred in the Year 1685, and in one Count, besides many more in all parts of the West Country; the Dragoons patrol'd all over the Country, by Night as well as by Day, so that the distress'd People who lay hid in the Mountains, could not come down to the Houses of their Friends in the Night, as they usually did for Succour, and so retreat again in the Morning before Day; but now they got no Liberty to come down, but at the utmost hazard; so that their Wives and Children, or Relations, and sometimes Charitable and Compassionate Christian Friends, went to them to the Hills, and to the Caves and Holes in the Earth, where they were harbour'd,

betray'd them was seiz'd by some of the Relations of these poor Men, and put in Prison at *Drumfreis*, but they did not put him to Death as he deserv'd.

to carry them Necessaries and Relief, and without which they must have perished, for meer want of Food; and notwithstanding which they endured in those vast and desolate Hills, inexpressible hardships, extremities of Cold, without Covering, without Shelter, without Fewel in the deepest of Winter, and often without Food and without Light: A List of Threescore and Eighteen Men by Name has been published, who were massacred by the Persecutors named above, and of whom some of those named here were a Part, but the Number who were thus hunted down and Murder'd by the Highlanders, and the Dragoons, in the whole Country, is not to be reckon'd up, and is indeed Incredible.

The Writer of these Memoirs, having talked with many Sober and Judicious Persons, who lived in that part of the Country at that time, and were Eye Witnesses to much of it, found that they all agreed in this, that many Thousands of People perished under the violent Hands of these Men, besides those killed in the Field of Battle at *Pentland Hills, Bothwell, &c.* And one Reverend Minister of the Church of *Scotland*, assur'd the Writer hereof, that taking in the People who dyed in Prisons and in Banishment; there was an Account taken of above Eighteen Thousand People, whose Blood these Persecutors have to Account for, besides the Numbers who at the time of the Revolution were actually in Prisons, in the Isle of the *Boss, Dunnotter Castle, Blackness, Edinburgh*, and other Places, amounting to a very great Number.

And yet here it cannot be omitted, that to the Honour of the Cause these People suffered in, and in justification of the Principles which they acted from, we must observe, that their Number was so far from being diminished, or themselves, or their Ministers, from being discouraged, that on the contrary, they encreased prodigiously in Number, neither were their Meetings ever destitute of Ministers, nor were they ever so discouraged as to give over Meeting for the publick Worship; resolving not to forsake the assembling themselves together, where they praised God in singleness of Heart, and with Joy Embraced the Opportunities tho' at the hazard of their Lives.

I cannot Express this more fully than in the Words of the Sufferers themselves left upon Record by one of their own Fellows in Affliction, thus, (*viz.*) 'To speak of the Numbers, says he, we must do Justice to the Miracle of God's Working, whereby the very means used to extirpate us from the Face of the Earth, was by the Wise Disposer of all things, made to encrease our Numbers; for that albeit they went on for many Years imprisoning, banishing, and butchering our dear Brethren, yet all the Prisons they could fill with us, and all the Ships they could freight with us, and all the Gibbets they could hang us on, could never either exhaust or lessen our Number, but the more we were Afflicted, the more we grew, and the design to Destroy us, thro' the Mercy of our God, prov'd always ruinous to the Destroyers; and this must be acknowledged to the Praise of God's Clemency, and the Condemnation of Man's Cruelty, that when they had Tried all ways possible to destroy us, and root us out from the Earth; after they had hang'd, shot, tortur'd and banished for Slaves, all they could catch of us, they were further from their purpose than when they began: Our Numbers were not diminished, our Meetings for Gospel Ordinances were not discontinued, but we enjoy'd the administrations in their Purity, and Power, with greater Certainty, and met together in greater Numbers than ever,

' for that our Numbers encreased more and more : That this was true, their Enemies openly acknowledged, and this enraged the Persecutors so much the more, and that to such a degree, that they once resolv'd on a general Massacre of all together by the Troops of *Heritors*, *Dragoons* and *Highland Men*, who, forming themselves into a great Army, spread themselves from one Side of a whole County to the other, having their Men placed, marching single at a great Distance, but always one in Sight of the other; so marching forward, every one straight before him, they by this Means searched the Rocks, Rivers, Woods, Wastes, Mountains, Mosses, and every the most private and retired Places of the Country, where they thought we were hidden; so that it was impossible any thing could escape them : And yet so true were the Mountain-Men, as their Persecutors call'd them, to one another, that in all that famous March they found not one Man, tho' many a good Man perhaps, with trembling Heart and Hands lift up to Heaven for Protection, saw them, and were pass'd by them undiscover'd.

Failing in any Enterprize of this Nature, and being disappointed in their Prey, always, redoubled their Fury at those who fell into their Hands : It was not far from *Edinburgh* that a Field-Meeting was appointed, and not the Minister only, but a great many People went out of that City, at the Hazard of their Lives, to have been present at it; when, on the Way, they got Notice that the Appointment had been discovered, and that Soldiers were coming to fall upon the People. The faithful Spies, that gave them Intelligence of this, did it so timely and so prudently, that the Soldiers found no-body assembled at the Place : But their Rage doubling at the Disappointment, they fell upon every one they met in their Return, and chiefly upon the poor Women and Maid-Servants, charging them with being actually going to the Field-Meeting, tho' not present at it : Besides the Rudeness and Insolence of another Nature which they offer'd to the Women, as upon all such Occasions was their Manner, they carry'd about 30 Women to *Edinburgh*, and Four or Five Men, where they were put in Prison, some in the Tolbooth, some in the Correction-House, tho' Persons of good Fashion and Families; and of these 7 or 8 were at several times put to death, principally upon their refusing to renounce the *Covenant*, and to make Declarations condemning their Principles; and on acknowledging their being on the Way to their Meeting. One poor Servant-Maid, belonging to a Citizen's Wife of *Edinburgh*, being with her Mistress, and having her Mistress's Bible under her Arm, was taken by the Soldiers, her Mistress escaping by running into a Stable : The poor Maid, being examin'd upon no other Suspicion but having the Bible, boldly own'd she was going to the Field-Meeting, but refused to accuse her Mistress, or any one else; whereupon they threaten'd her with the Torture, to make her confess. She answer'd, she was ready to endure Torture or Death, and talk'd to them with such Presence of Mind, such Strength of Reasoning, and such Cheerfulness, as made them both mad and asham'd. They sentenc'd her to be hang'd in the Street of *Edinburgh*, and another young Woman with her. She receiv'd the Sentence with rejoicing, and lifting up her Hands and Eyes, gave God Thanks, that had thought her worthy to suffer for her Testimony to the Truth of Religion, and the purity of his Worship.

The Cruelty of the Persecutors was farther re-

markable in these poor young Women's Suffering, that they brought them to their Execution with two Murderers, (*viz.*) two Wretches condemn'd for Murdering their Bastard Children, mixing them together that the Common People might imagine they were all guilty of such Crimes, or that at least they might not be known asunder by the Crowd of Spectators; but they easily discover'd the Difference by the Manner of their Behaviour, while these two appear'd with smiling Countenances, singing Psalms, and in a cheerful inimitable Frame; the other dejected, confused, and, to say all in a Word, like what they really were.

It would be endless to give an Account of the Manner of Execution, the Behaviour of the Suffering People in their Imprisonment and at their Execution, or the Cruelty of the Judges in Torturing those who were brought before them, with that truly barbarous Engine for Torture unknown to all the World but to *Scotland*, call'd the *Boot*; by which, the Leg being put in, and the Wedges driven with a great Maul by the Executioner, the Bone has been entirely compress'd, and the Marrow of the Bone has been seen to burst out through the macerated Flesh.

Yet it was not found that any one of those who were thus tortur'd yielded to the Tormentors, either to accuse themselves or betray others. Mr. *Hugh Mackail*, a young Man of about 24 Years of Age, and being what they call a Probationer for the Office of a Minister, but not yet a Minister ordain'd, was Licentiate, and had preach'd some time before the turning out of the Presbyterians at the Restoration, he is an eminent Example of this : His Case, in short, is as follows :

Being a young Man of promising Parts and great Elocution, he was appointed to preach in the Great Church at *Edinburgh* the Sabbath before the turning out of the Ministers; and his Subject, as might be expected, related to the cruel Persecutions which the Church of God, in all Ages, had undergone from the Enemies of Jesus Christ and his Kingdom; it was suggested that he carry'd on a Parallel between the Persecutions of the People of God in the Jewish Church, and those of the People of God in the Presbyterian Church of *Scotland* : And it was very particular and surprising to many that heard him, when he told them the Church were persecuted by a *Pharaoh* upon the Throne, a *Haman* in the State, and a *Judas* in the Church; by whom he was supposed to mean King *Charles* the II. then reigning upon the Throne; the Duke of *Lowderdale*, then principal Agent in *Scots* affairs; and the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, an Apostate from the True Church, and then the most false Betrayer, and at that time, the most implacable Persecutor of that very Church which he had before been a Member and Minister of.

It seems the Archbishop, who was seldom known to forgive any one, had not forgotten this, tho' it was in the Year 1681, four Years before : And it was not many Days after his preaching that Sermon, that a Party of Soldiers was sent to seize him; but he got notice of their Design, and convey'd himself away into the West, where he continu'd retir'd till the Affair of *Pentland*, of which Mention has been made, when being oblig'd, as he thought, to join with his Brethren in renewing the *Covenant*, he went to *Lanerk*, where that solemn renewing the *Covenant* was perform'd, as has been observ'd Page 71. When they were defeated at *Pentland*, it happen'd this young Man was taken and brought in Prisoner to *Edinburgh*. The Archbishop remember'd the Sermon and the Man,

and had his full Revenge upon this Occasion, as the Event shew'd; Mr. Mackail was not taken in the Action, neither was he in it, nor was he taken in the Company of any that were in the Action; but meerly, and unpolitically enough, as travelling on the Road; for the Weakness of his Constitution having render'd him unable to bear the Fatigues of marching, or the Rigour of the Season, he was oblig'd to leave the Body of Men who march'd after to *Pentland-Hills*, being no longer able to endure it; so parting from them at a Place called *Cramond-Bridge*, he was taken by some Countrymen who were sent out to stop the Passages, to prevent the Escape of the Rebels, as they were then call'd.

Being taken and brought to Council, he was committed to the *Tolbooth*, and several times examin'd, and at length tortur'd to make him confess himself guilty, which however they could not make him do; the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* being present all the Time of his Torture, as one of the Judges, appointing and directing the same: A terrible Work indeed it was for a Christian Bishop! but very agreeable to the rest of his Character, if we may believe what was generally said of him at that Time among even indifferent Men.

They question'd him likewise, upon Torture, to declare what was the original Cause and Design of that Insurrection. He answer'd, he knew not any more of it, than that it was occasion'd by the Cruelty of Sir James Turner, who having been resisted by some People who could no longer bear his Violence; that Resistance having expos'd them to the Revenge of the Soldiers, and the Apprehensions of that Revenge having made them desperate, that very Accident drove them to take Arms, as has been observ'd before in the Accounts given of that Action.

They were not satisfy'd with this Answer, but press'd him to declare all he knew of that Affair; and, upon his declaring he knew no more, they order'd him to be tortur'd: At every Blow the Tormentors struck, they ask'd if he would confess; and upon receiving still the same Answer (*viz.*) *That he knew no more than he had told them*, they renewed the Torture till he had received Eleven Strokes of the Hang-man.

It seems they had been heated the same Morning, and their Fury encreas'd, by having just before tortur'd another Gentleman (*viz.*) Mr. *Nicholson of Corstok*, in a most terrible manner.

Here, for the Information of the *English Reader*, or other Stranger to the Customs and Judicatories of *Scotland*, it is necessary to note, that this Examination by torture is always done in the Presence of the Judges, who order the Tormentors when to begin, how long to proceed, and when to stop, and interrogate the Sufferer all the time, and in the Interval of their Blows.

Mr. Mackail, says an Author who relates that Story, having before declar'd ingenuously all he knew, could not be mov'd by the Torture to express any Impatience or Bitterness, tho' the Torture was in it self very violent and terrible, by reason of the Compressure of the Flesh, Sinews, and even the Bones, by the Force of Wooden Wedges driven in with a Hammer in a double and unusual Measure, even to 10 or 11 Strokes, with considerable Intervals; all which he sustain'd most constantly and christianly: But before he received the last three Strokes, he protested solemnly in the Sight of God, That he could say no more, tho' all the Joints of his Body were in as great Torture as that poor Leg; and desires to know what could hinder them to believe

one of his Profession, who had so solemnly declared, as in the Sight of God, that he knew no more than he had told, *viz.* That, to the best of his Knowledge, the Rising in the West was merely occasional, upon a Discontent between the People in the *Stewartry of Galloway* and Sir James Turner, to which every one did run as their Hearts mov'd them, when they heard of it.

The Violence of this Torment threw him into a Fever, and yet could not these merciful Judges be prevail'd with to respite his Appearing before them above one Day, tho' two Physicians and a Surgeon certifi'd his dangerous Condition, and he petition'd for a Delay on that Account: Accordingly the next Day he was rather dragg'd or carry'd than went to their Bar, and was condemn'd to die, on the third Day after, which was executed accordingly.

There is another of these Sufferers who cannot be forgot when we are Recording the Zeal of the Church of *Scotland's* Martyrs, who, in Imitation of the Primitive Zeal of the first Centuries, offer'd himself to the Sacrifice, without any one laying Hand on him. This was James Nicol of *Peobie*.

He was occasionally at *Edinburgh* when three of the Western People were to be brought to their Assize or their trial, for refusing to answer the wicked ensnaring Questions so often mention'd in these Memoirs. He went to the Jusiciary Court to see them Try'd: It griev'd his Soul to see three innocent Men deliver'd, as meek Lambs, into the Hands of the Butchers, to be slaughter'd: It mov'd his Passion to see the Tyrannical Behaviour of the cruel Judges and Persecutors, insulting and reviling the Sufferers; and much ado he had, as he express'd himself, to restrain his Anger from breaking out upon the Spot, and from reproaching them with shedding innocent Blood; but was in part satisfy'd and appeas'd, when he heard the three Sufferers, who were his dear Friends and Brethren in the Cause of God, answer with such Cheerfulness and Courage as put their Enemies to Shame.

He went from the Court however griev'd in his Spirit, having seen them Condemn'd, and heard the bloody Sentence pronounc'd; and that, it being then about 11 o' th' Clock, they were order'd to be carry'd not back to Prison, but from the Court where they receiv'd their Sentence, to the Place of Execution.

Mr. Nicol, not intending to see the sad Sight, order'd his Horse to be brought out about One o' th' Clock, to return to his own House, but was oblig'd to stop at the West Port of the City to have his Saddle mended; while he was staying there, he saw the People running, and, asking what it was for, was told the three honest Men were bringing to the Place of Execution, and looking up the Street saw them ascend the Scaffold, which was in View of the Place where he stood: This mov'd him to walk up the Grass Market to see them die. Now he was no longer able to contain, being mov'd with a strong Zeal against these Murderers: But he crys out in the midst of the throng; *They had murder'd Three of God's Servants, contrary to their own Laws, and in a most Barbarous and Inhumane manner.* Hereupon he was immediately apprehended, this was on the 10th of August 1684, on the 18th he was examined before the Council, where they were astonish'd to find that he, against whom they had no Accusation, was bold to declare himself in the most dangerous Questions, and rather sought the Martyrdom he expected, than that he would endeavour to avoid

what they had to Inflict, as the Reader will see by the manner of their Interrogating him, and his Answers penn'd by himself as follows.

FIRST, I was Interrogate by two in a Room privately thus. Question, Was you at *Bothwell Bridge*? A.—I am not bound to be my own Accuser; I am not (said one of them) to desire you, but only say upon your Honest Word, that you were not there. A.—I am not bound to satisfy you, but Prove what you have to say against me, and especially you, till I come before my Accusers. Well, said he, I am one of them. Then I Answered, I was there. Q.—How came you to rise in Arms against the King? A.—Because he has broken the Covenant of the Lord my God. Q.—Was the Prelate's Death Murder? A.—No, it was not Murder. Q.—Was *Hacketoun's* Death Murder? A.—That it was indeed. Q.—How dare you own the Covenant, seeing the King gave Orders to burn it by the Hand of the Hangman? A.—Yes, I dare own, for altho' ye should escape the hand of Men for so doing, yet ye shall all pay for it, e're all be done, and that to purpose: As for me I would not do it for the whole Earth. Then I was Interrogate by other two, who asked some frivolous Questions which I baffled to silence. Then I was brought in before the Bloody Crew. What now, Sir, said they, do ye own the King's Authority? A.—I own all things that the Precious Word of God owns in less or more, and all Faithful Magistrates. Q.—But do you not own King *Charles* also? A.—I dare not for a World, because it is Perjury, for he has unking'd himself in a high degree, and that in doing all things contrary to the Word of God and Confession of Faith, and Catechisms Larger and Shorter. Q.—Know ye to whom ye are Speaking? A.—I know I am before Men. But (said one of them) ye are speaking to the Chancellor and Members of Council, Sir. But, said I; AS I have told you already that he has unking'd himself, SO have you degraded your selves from being Princes. Q.—If the King were here what would you say, Sir? A.—I know how I ought to speak to the King, if he were King, Sir, is ordinarily said to him; and so to let you know that I am no Quaker, or Erroneous in any thing, but a pure *Presbyterian*, and of a Gospel, Apostolick Spirit, I call you *Sirs*, because ye are Noblemen by Birth, but not because ye are my Judges. Q.—Will ye not say God bless the King's Majesty? A.—I dare not bless them whom God hath rejected; 'If any Man bring another Doctrine then ye have received bid him not, God speed, nor receive him into your House, 2 John 10. 'And *Psa'ms* 16. verse 4th says *David*, Their 'Drink Offerings of Blood will I not Offer, nor 'take up their names into my Lips,' viz. Them that hasten after other Gods, and therefore I dare not Pray for him. Q.—and will ye not Pray for him? A.—If he belongs to the Election of Grace, he has a part of my Prayers; and also if he were a King that had kept Covenant with God I would give him a double share, and make mention of his Name; but he is an Apostate, (So, my Friends, they looked still one to another at every Question and Answer.) Q.—How Old are you, Sir? A.—I am 61 Years. Q.—How dare you own the Covenants seeing we have burnt it by the hand of the Hangman? A.—Sir, I dare own them upon all Perills whatsoever to the utmost of my Power, all the Days of my Life. And with that they Smiled and Laughed one to another and to me; and said my Days were near an end; I said I am now in your Power,

but if ye take my Blood, ye shall take Innocent Blood upon yourselves, as in *Jer.* 26. *As for me, I am in your Hands, do to me as seems good and meet unto ye, but know for a certainty that if ye put me to Death ye shall bring Innocent Blood upon your selves and on this City, and the Inhabitants thereof.* And as for me, if ye take my Blood, it's as Innocent Blood as ever ye did take; for I did never wrong any Man to this Day.

Q.—Do you go to the Church? A.—I went ay to the Church, where I could get any faithful Minister to go to; but for your Prelates Kirks, and *Baal's Priests*, I never heard any of them, nor never intends to do, if I were to live an hundred Years: But (said they) Ye shall not live long now Sir.

Then on Tuesday they called me before them, again, being the 19th Day of this Instant. Q.—What say ye the Day, do you adhere to all ye said Yesterday? A.—I adhere to all and hail upon all Perills whatsoever. Q.—Do ye approve of *Bothwell Bridge*? A.—Yes I do. Q.—Do you go to the Kirk at *Peebles*? A.—No, nor never intends to go there, nor no Place else, which pertains to the perjured Prelates. Q.—Do you own the Covenants? A.—I adhere to every Point of them. Q.—Do ye own *Airs-Moss*, *Sanguhair*, *Rutherglen*, and *Lanerk Declarations*? A.—Yes, I do; because they are agreeable to the Covenants, and Work of Reformation. Many more Questions they asked, which I cannot now particularly remember, but I told them in general, That I was against *Poperie*, *Prelacy*, *Malignancy*, and *Prophanity*, and all that is against sound Doctrine, Discipline, Worship and Government; and all Errors whatsoever, which are contrary to sound *Presbyterian* Doctrine, be what they will; for there is none other right, but erroneous; how fair a Face soever they have, which shall be found not agreeable to the Apostles Doctrine. And then they read some thing of what I had said, and questioned if I would subscribe what I had said. I answered, No. Q.—Can ye write? A.—Yes, I can write. Then do it, said they: I said, I would not do it all. Now, my Friends, I say these are but part of my Interrogations.

Again I was brought before the Justiciary (as they call themselves) on the 20th of this Instant, and interrogate thus: Q.—What now, Sir, what think you of your self the Day? A.—I praise my GOD, I am the same I was. Q.—What think ye of what ye said Yesterday before the Chancellor and the Council? A.—I hold all, and decline nothing; no not one Ace. Q.—Were ye at *Bothwell Bridge*? A.—Yes, that I was. Q.—Had ye Arms? A.—Yes, that I had. One of them said, *GOD help you*: And I said, I wote none of ye can pray for your self: said he, I wish you better nor ye do your self: But I said, No: for ye would have me disown my great LORD, the King of *Zion*, and obey Man; yea, base Men; whose *Breath is in their Nostrils*, who give out Laws and Commands contrary to his. Q.—How dare ye rise in Arms against the King? A.—It is better to obey GOD than Man, and he is an Enemy to GOD. Q.—Would ye rise yet in Arms for the Covenants against the King's Laws, if ye had the Occasion? A.—Yes, that I would, say the contrary who will, upon all Peril. Q.—What think ye of your self in spoiling the Country of Horse and Arms, Sir? A.—Sir, I had not the worth of a Spur Whang of any Man's, but was mounted of Horse and Arms of my own. Q.—Where have ye been all this Time? A.—Sometimes here and there, in *England* and *Scotland*. Q.—Whom have ye conversed with? A.—I was about my Business, being a Merchant. They said ye have been about an-

other Business ; for ye are found to be a *Fugitive* and a *Vagabond*. A.—I have been a Merchant from my Youth. Q.—But where had ye your Chamber in this Town ? A.—I had none these several Years. Q.—Where quarter ye in this Town ? A.—I have not been much in it these 7 or 8 Years. Q.—But where was ye the Night, and the last Night before the Execution ? A.—I was not in Town, I came but in to Port just when the first was cast over. Then they looked one to another, and whispered together ; But they would fain have had me wronging my Landlords in all the Parts of the Country, and in all Burghs ; but Glory to my LORD, I have wronged none yet, nor yet hopes to do ; for it was ay my Care, and Prayer to GOD earnestly, that I might wrong no Man, and that I had rather suffer before any were wronged by me, which he has kept me from to this Day : Then they read what I had said. Q.—Will ye subscribe what ye have said ? A.—No, no. Q.—Can ye write, Sir ? A.—Yes, that I can. Well, said they, write down, That he can, but will not. They told me five or six Times, that my Time should not be long, and said to me, Will ye have a Minister ? A.—I will have none of your *Baal's Priests*.

After these Interrogations, and that they had left him for Two or Three Days, on the 22th one brought him the Copy of his Indictment, telling him at the same Time, that on the 27th he would receive his Sentence, and that he would be carry'd directly from the Bar to the Scaffold, which was done accordingly, and where he Dy'd with the same resolute undaunted Courage, that he had behaved with all along.

There was yet another small action in Arms, which the Writers of those Times say little of, they are asham'd to call it Rebellion, they would call it a pursuit of Murderers, but the *Fact was thus* ; the Number of the Persons proscib'd was prodigiously Great, who flying into Dens, and Holes and Caves of the Earth, lay concealed in the Hills and Mountains, from whence by the vigilance of their Enemies, they were frequently dragg'd out to Execution and Death, either with or without Process, as has been said. Sometimes as Occasion offered, these distress'd People would get together either for their Field Meetings, or to shift from Place to Place, as Occasion offer'd for their Relief, and that they might not be a prey to every single Soldier or Laird, that should meet them Naked and Unarm'd, they carry'd Arms for their Defence ; so long only as they were together, separating again as they had Occasion, and then laying by their Weapons.

One of these Parties with Mr. *Richard Cameron* their Minister, the same from whom these Men were after called *Cameronians*, having been together some Days, but with no other view than their own Security as above, were pursued by the Dragoons, and being surpris'd as they were lying down upon the Grass for refreshment, at a place call'd *Aird-Moss*, they were oblig'd to fight : The Dragoons who came upon them were about 120 Men, being 3 Troops ; the persecuted People were about 40 Foot indifferently Arm'd, and 26 Horse ; the Horse were led by *David Hackston*, Esq. of *Rathillet*, a Gentleman of a good Family and ally'd to some of the best Families in *Scotland* ; he had been proscib'd long before for the killing the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, tho' as has been observ'd, he was the only Man of that Company who refused to have any Hand in it.—Some say he refused, because he would not have had him kill'd, but others say he refused, because he formerly had a declar'd Quarrel against him Personally, and would not

suffer it to be said that he executed his private Revenge ; be that as it will, it is allow'd by all that he was not an actor in the Death of the Bishop, any way whatsoever, but that being with the Persons who kill'd him, he separated from them, and refused to be concern'd in it.

Being forced thus to Fight as above, with so unequal Numbers, Mr. *Hackston* follow'd by 15 Horse, charged up to the very Faces of the Dragoons, and after giving them a Fire from their Carabines, broke into the body of them, where having shew'd all the Marks of Bravery and Gallantry possible, being surrounded by Numbers and overpower'd, the most of them were Kill'd or Wounded : Mr. *Hackston* seeing his Men broken, fought like a Lyon, and with a desperate Courage made his way quite thro' the Enemy, Killing and wounding several of them with his own Hand ; and being got clear, and without receiving any considerable Wound, he made off, but was closely pursued by 4 Dragoons ; the goodness of his Horse carry'd him from them, and he was in a fair way to have escap'd, when his Horse plung'd into a Bog, from whence he could not get him out : Being thus un-horst, a Dragoon came up to him who knew him, and offered him Quarter, which he refused, and fought him with his Sword, and would have Master'd him, but Three other Dragoons surrounding him, they knock't him down, giving him several Wounds in the Head, and so took him Prisoner.

Mr. *Cameron* fighting as boldly at the Head of the other part of the Horse, was Killed, and his Head cut off, and carry'd with the Prisoners to *Edinburgh*. The Foot being rid down by the Dragoons and Dispersed, fled to the Hills, about 17 of them were killed or taken, and the rest escaped. They carry'd Mr. *Hackston* Wounded as he was to *Edinburgh*, where they led him, and Three more of the Prisoners taken at the same place in Triumph thro' the City on a Horse, with his Face to the Horse's Tail, Mr. *Cameron's* Head stuck on the point of a Halberd, being carry'd before him, and another Head in a Sack : His Examination, his resolute Answers, his horrible Torture, and his cruel Execution, are well known to all *Scotland*.

He had been several Times, carry'd before the Justiciary Court, as they were call'd, for he would not call them so, where he refused to answer to any Questions whatsoever, declining their Jurisdiction, and protesting against their Authority. But they resolv'd to treat him for it, in a Method which they doubted not, would bring him to submit to them, wherein however they failed, and were most effectually disappointed ; for neither was their threats of Torture, the barbarous loading him with Irons, who had seven Wounds upon him, the refusing to let those Wounds be Drest for some Time, no nor at last the Torture it self, prevail with him to answer them.

They would have had him confess the Murder of the Archbishop, but he would not ; then they would have had him deny it, but neither would he do that, but steddily adher'd to his Protestation, (*viz.*) That they had usurped the Supremacy over the Church, which belong'd alone TO JESUS CHRIST, and establish'd Idolatry, Perjury, and other Abominations ; and in Confiscating themselves therein, had persecuted God's People, and shed innocent Blood, and for this Reason, he would have nothing to say to them, but Declared them open Enemies to Christ's Kingdom, Competitors with him, for his Crown and Power, and utterly declin'd them as *Judges*. This was the sub-

stance of his Answers, upon several Times being brought before them, and it is no Wonder, that they were exceedingly Provok'd at him, as they soon shew'd they were.

Upon Friday July 30, being again brought before the *Council*, it was asked of him if he had any other thing to say? He answered, That which I have said I will Seal it. Then they told him that they had something to say to him, and commanded him to sit down and receive his Sentence, which willingly he did; but told them they were all Murderers, for all that Power they had was deriv'd from Tyranny, and that these Years by-gone, they have not only Tyrannized over the Church of GOD, but have also grinded the Faces of the Poor; so that Oppression, Bloodshed, Perjury, and many Murders were to be found in their Skirts, upon which he was incontinent carried away to the Scaffold at the Mercat-Cross of *Edinburgh*, where he died with great *Torture inflicted upon his Body, nor being permitted to leave any Testimony to the World, except what is comprehended in a few Missives directed to some of his Christian Acquaintance from his Prison in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, which are as follows.

It is impossible to relate all the particulars of their Persecution, either as to the cruelty of the Persecutors, or the constancy of the Sufferers: what has been said, will serve to open the Eyes of all who are yet Ignorant, and to fill every Christian Reader with Abhorrence of the Practices, and of the very Names and Memories of the Persons who exercised such Cruelties on their *Christian Brethren*.

I say Brethren, because to the Dishonour of the Protestant Name, it is said that these Persecutors were call'd *Protestants*.

There is but one thing that either ever was, or indeed could be said to Extenuate the Charge, and great Pains has been taken to possess the World with the Notion (*viz.*) that these Men were *Mad-Men*, Enemies to Government, to Monarchy and to Civil Society, that they deny'd Magistracy it self, as well as the Person and Government of the King, and that they were executed as Rebels, not as Religious Persons.

It is needless to answer to any part of this Charge; the profession of the Sufferers at the Place of Execution, and upon all other Occasions against the Enemies they oppos'd, making it clear that they did not oppose Government or Monarchy as such; but Wicked, Perjur'd and Persecuting *Governors*; These they did oppose, and declare against, as Enemies to God and their Country; and as breakers of Sacred Oaths and Covenants, made both with God and Man; These they Oppos'd, and thought themselves bound in Conscience to do so, as being discharg'd from all *Civil Allegiance* to them, by the Breach of their Coronation Engagements; and of all *Religious Engagements* to them, by the breaking their solemn Oath to God and his Church; and turning Persecutors of that very Church they had Sworn to maintain; and this they did on the same Arguments which justify'd the Revolution, and on which the *Protestant Succession of Hannover* is now founded; *to wit*, of taking Arms against perjur'd Princes, who break their solemn

Compact with God and their People; Renouncing and Deposing them, and excluding both them and their Race; and blessed be God who has given such a Testimony in our Days, to the Memory of his Saints, and to the truth of the Doctrine and Principles, which these faithful Martyrs in *Scotland* suffered for, by bringing the whole Nation, nay even some of the very Persecutors themselves, to take up those very Principles, with respect to Government and Obedience, that those suffering Christians Dy'd for; and to Expel and Depose, reject and cast off that very Race, and one of those very Kings as Tyrants and Robbers, breakers of their Oaths, and injurious to the People, which these good People were Persecuted and Murdered for rejecting before. And therefore even the Declaration at *Torwood* as it was call'd, where they Excommunicated the King, and which the Enemies of these good People pretended to be Enthusiastick, Devilish, Rebellious and Antichristian, and for which said good People were Censur'd, even by their Brethren who accepted of the Indulgences. I say, that very Excommunication is expressly founded upon the same Grounds, as was afterwards the renouncing the King by the Revolution, with this Difference only, that the Reasons given by Mr. *Cargil*, Mr. *Cameron* and the People then call'd *Cameronians* in the Declaration of the *Queens-Ferry*, and the Excommunication of *Torwood*, contain all that is understood in the Memorial to the Prince of *Orange*, from the People of *Great Britain*, to invite him to assist them in Arms against the same King, and much more.

To make this clear, I here give you that famous Excommunication, pronounced by Mr. *Donald Cargil* at *Torwood*, Anno 1684, and only desire the impartial Reader, to compare it with the Memorials abovenam'd, and see if it be possible for any *British Protestant*, who owns the Justice of the Revolution, to reflect upon the Zeal of these People, without blushing for himself, and the whole Nation, that they did not see and abhor the Tyranny of those Reigns sooner: Then they had joy'n'd with these People, instead of censuring their Zeal: The Revolution had then been brought about, without Foreign help at all; the Prince of *Orange* had then been call'd over as peaceably as King *George*, to take possession of the Crown, and the Blood of near Twenty Thousand People, who were one way or other Murder'd or Destroy'd, by that now abdicated race of Tyrants, and their bloody Administration had been saved.

What a shame it is to us, and how much to the Honour of these persecuted People, that THEY could thus see the Treachery and Tyranny of those Reigns, when we saw it not; or rather that they had so much Honesty of Principle, and obey'd so strictly the Dictates of Conscience, as to bear their Testimony Early, Nobly, and Gloriously, to the truth of God, and the rights of their Country, both Civil and Religious, while we all, tho' seeing the same Things, and equally convinc'd of its being Right, yet betray'd the cause of Liberty and Religion, by a sinful Silence, and a dreadful Cowardice; not joyning to help the Lord, or the People of the Lord, against the Mighty, sitting still and seeing our Brethren Slaughter'd and Butchered, in Defence of their Principles, which our Consciences told us, *once then*, were founded on the Truth, and by those Tyrants, who we knew deserv'd to be rejected both of God and the Nation, and who afterwards we did reject accordingly: *But to Proceed*.

As those Suffering People are abundantly justified by the Practice of the whole Nation, in the

* The Cruelty of Executing *Hackston of Rathilist*, besides the Torture they before put him to, was indeed Unheard, both his Hands being cut off, and after his Breast cut open, and his Heart pull'd out, even before he was Dead, as many bear Witness, who saw him Executed.

Revolution, so I must add, that they are abundantly acquitted of that weak and unjust Charge, mentioned before, viz. of their being Enemies to Government, and refusing to submit to Lawful Authority, by their behaviour in the Revolution; their Cheerful joining in it, and their being the first that Petitioned the Parliament to make the Prince of Orange King, and promising all Dutiful Submission to such a King, as they knew would rule in Righteousness, and Defend, not Destroy the Heretage of the Lord; but as this belongs to the next part of this Work, I shall refer to the fuller Account of their Conduct, which will appear in its Place.

Here follows an Account of the Proceedings at Torwood.

The Meeting was in the Fields, at a Place call'd *Torwood*, in the Western part of *Scotland*, the 11th of September, 1688, Mr. *Richard Cameron*, Mr. — and Mr. *Donald Cargil* Ministers assisting, but Mr. *Cargil* Preached the Action Sermon from 21 *Ezek.* 25, 26, 27. And thus prophane wicked Prince of *Israel*, whose Day is come, when Iniquity shall have an End: Thus saith the Lord God, remove the Diadem and take off the Crown, &c. In this Preaching, he made first a short Pertinent Discourse, on the Nature, Subject, Causes, and Ends of Excommunication, and declared fully his own Motives then to Pronounce it, and that it was not from any private Spirit, Malice, or Passion, but Conscience of his Duty and Zeal, for the Honour of God, and of his Church, after which, he began as follows, viz.

'We have spoken of Excommunication, the Causes, Subject, and Ends thereof, we shall now proceed to the Action it self, being constrained by the Conscience of our Duty, and Zeal for God, to Excommunicate at this Time, some of those among us in these Lands, who have been guilty of such Crimes, as renders them the proper Subjects of this Censure, and especially those who have been Authors of the present Mischiefs, to the Church of Christ, in this Nation of *Scotland*, and in doing this, we shall give them the ordinary Names, by which they are called, that it may not be in the least doubtful, who we are speaking of, in so solemn an Occasion.

'I Being a Minister of Jesus Christ, and having Authority and Power from him, do in his Name, and by his Spirit Excommunicate CHARLES II. King, &c. and that upon the Account of these wickednesses following. 1. For his high mocking the Majesty of God in that, where he had Confest his own Sins, his Fathers Sins, his Mothers Idolatry, and had Solemnly engag'd against them in his Declaration, at *Dumferlin*, August, 16. 1650. and was upon that Declaration, and on the Conditions thereof accepted as King: He has broken the said solemn Engagement, and return'd more avowedly to those Sins, than all that were before him. (2.) For his abhorrd * Perjury in that, after he had Twice solemnly subscrib'd the Covenant; he most Presumptuously disown'd, and Renounc'd it, causing it to be burn'd by the Hangman. (3.) For that he has caused all those † Laws for establishing Religion and Reformation, and which he had engaged in the said Covenant,

* At the Revolution, they charg'd King *James* with Perjury, in breaking his Coronation Oath, wherein he had Sworn to maintain the Church, and true Religion.

† At the Revolution, they charg'd him with dispensing with the Laws, and setting up his Arbitrary Will, in the Room of the Law.

'to preserve, to be rescinded; and enacted Laws, directly contrary, and is still Working to set up Popery among us.' (4.) For Commanding his Armies† to destroy the Lords People, who were standing in their own just Defense, of their Rights, and Privileges, and for the ‡ Blood he hath Shed, by Land, and by Water, of the People of God, for the sake of Religion, and of Righteousness, more than all the Kings that have been before him in *Scotland*, the said People being most willing in all other § Things, to render him Obedience, if he had Reigned and Ruled them, according to his Covenant and Oath. (5.) For that he is still an Enemy to, and a Persecutor of true Protestants; a favourer ‖ and helper of the Papists, at Home and Abroad, and hath hindred the due Execution of just Laws. (6.) For his relaxing of the Kingdom, by his frequent granting Pardon to Murderers, which is expressly contrary to the Law of God, and therefore not in the Power of any King to do. (7.) His great and dreadful Uncleanness, Adultery, and Incest; his Drunkenness and Dissimulation, with God and Man, performing his Promises, where his Engagements were Sinful, &c.

'By the same Authority, and in the same Name, I Excommunicate and Cast out of the True Church, and deliver up to *Sathan*, *James Duke of York*, and that for his Idolatry, as far as concerns *Scotland*, for other Things I read not; and for setting up Idolatry in *Scotland*, to defile the Lords Land, and his encouraging and drawing others to do so.

'Next in the same Name, and by the same Authority, I Excommunicate *James Duke of Monmouth*, &c. For his coming into *Scotland*, upon his Fathers unjust Command, and leading Armies against the Lords People; they being constrained to Rise, being Killed in, and for the Right Worshipping of the true God, and for his refusing at *Bothwell*, the Cessation proposed by Others.

'Next I do by the same Authority, and in the same Name, excommunicate, cast out of the true Church, and deliver up to *Sathan*, *John D. of Lauderdale*, for his dreadful Blasphemy, against the great God, especially those horrible Expressions used by him, to the Prelate of *St. Andrews*, in Prophaneation of the Holy Word of God, (viz.) *Sit thou at my right Hand, till I make thine Enemies thy Footstool*: Likewise for his Atheistical drolling upon the Scriptures of God in General; scoffing at Religion, and Religious Persons; his Apostacy from the Covenant and Reformation, and Persecuting thereof, after he had been professor and pleader for, and possessor of the said Covenant, &c. Likewise for his Perjury and Murder, in the Case of Mr. ¶ *James Mitchell*; likewise for his Adulteries, and Uncleanness, for his Counselling and Assisting the King, in all his Tyrannies, and

* King *James* charg'd with setting up Popery among us.

† King *James* charg'd with keeping up a standing Army in time of Peace.

‡ King *James* charg'd with Arbitrary shedding innocent Blood.

§ MARK THAT, willing to render Obedience, &c.

‖ King *James* charg'd with helping and favouring Papists.

¶ He was one of them in the Council, who gave publick Faith to Mr. *Mitchell*, that his Life should be saved, if he would Confess his firing a Pistol at the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and Wounding the Bishop of *Glasgow*; without which Confession, they could

'endeavouring to overturn the true Religion; for his openly Gaming on the Lords Days, and finally for his usual and ordinary Cursing.

'Next I do by the same Authority, and in the same Name, cast out of the true Church, and deliver up to *Sathan*, *John Duke of Rothes*, &c. For his Perjuries, in the aforesaid Case of Mr. *Mitchell*, for his Adulteries and Uncleanness, and openly allotting the Lord's Day for the same. For his openly professing and avowing his Willingness and Readiness, to set up *Papery* in this Land, at the King's Command, and for his Barbarous and Unheard of Cruelty, to that Worthy Gentleman, *David Hackston of Rathillet*, whereof he was the chief Author, Contriver and Commander; and lastly, for his ordinary Cursing, Swearing, and Drunkenness.

'Next, I do by the same Authority, and in the same Name, Excommunicate, &c. Sir *Geo. Mackenzie*, the King's Advocate, for his Apostasy in turning to a profligate Conversation, after he had begun a solemn Profession of Holiness; for his constant Pleading against, and Persecuting to Death, the Servants of God, and alledging and laying to their Charge, Things which in his Conscience he knew to be against the Word of God, against Truth, Reason, and the Laws of this Kingdom: And, on the other hand, his Pleading for Sorcerers, Murderers, and other Criminals, that, by the Laws of God and Man, ought to have been put to death; likewise for his Ungodly, Erroneous, Fantastick and Blasphemous Tenets published to the World in his Pamphlets and Pasquils.

'Lastly, I do by the same Authority, and in the same Name, Excommunicate, &c. *Thomas Dalziel of Bins*, for his Leading Armies, and Commanding the pillaging, oppressing, and cruelly murdering the Lord's People; particularly for his Commanding to shoot at Post — *Finlay*, an innocent Person, at *New Millna*, without any form of Law, Civil or Military, he not being guilty of any thing which they themselves counted a Crime; likewise for his Lewd and Impious Life, led in Adultery and Uncleanness from his Youth, in a Contempt of lawful Wedlock, which is the Ordinance of God; for his Atheistical and Irreligious Life; and, lastly, for his unjust Taking away and keeping Possession of the Estate of that worthy Gentleman *William Muir of Caladell*, and other injurious Deeds in Exercise of this Power.

After he had pronounce'd the above Sentences of Excommunication, he went on to the Purpose following. 'I think, *said he*, none that acknowledge the Word of God, the Power deputed to his Church, and the Reason and Nature of that Power, can judge this Sentence to be unjust. The Pretence of its being unformal, without Warnings, Admonitions, &c. is fully answer'd, in that those men have placed themselves above the admonitions of Ministers, have repell'd all due Warnings, and wickedly put to cruel Deaths the Servants and Ministers of Christ, who have with Freedom and Boldness adventur'd to give them Warnings and Admonitions, and shut up all Access from us that remain to do the like; and as for Proof of the Fact, I have here charg'd upon them it needeth not, the Deeds being notour and

not have put him to Death; notwithstanding which, they not only did make use of that Confession to condemn Him to Death, but made Oath before the Judiciary Court, upon his Tryal and Torture, that there was no such publick Faith given.

'known, and the most of them such as themselves do avow, and, to their Shame, boast of: And as the Causes are just, and such as for which the Ministers of Christ have in all Ages proceeded to the like Sentence, SO it being now done by a Minister of the Gospel, and in such a Manner as the present Circumstances of the Church of Christ, with respect to the present cruel Persecution, will admit, the Sentence likewise is undoubtedly just also; and there are no Powers on Earth, either of Kings, Princes, Magistrates, or Ministers of the Gospel, can, without the Repentance of the Persons openly and legally appearing, reverse these Sentences upon any such Account: And as God, who is the Author of that Power, is the more engaged to the ratifying these Sentences, so all that acknowledge the Word of God, and believe themselves subject to his Government, ought also to acknowledge them.

'If any shall object, as we hear they do, that these Proceedings, tho' not unjust, are foolish and rigorous: We answer with that Word of Scripture which we have much more reason to use than those of whom it is recorded, *Gen. 34. 31.* 'Should he deal with our Sister as with an Harlot? Should they deal with our God as with an Idol? Should they deal with his People as with Murderers and Malefactors; and shall we not draw out God's Sword against God's Enemies?'

It is true that this Action was the Execration and Aversion of those Times, and of the Sovereign that then Reigned, and to their Reproach it will be Recorded, that two sorts of People blam'd the *Cameronians* for running that length. First, Their Brethren of the Presbyterian Church, who temporised at that time, and not thinking themselves called to bear their Testimony in such a manner against the Persecutors; or perhaps not being able to bear the fury of the Prosecution, consented to receive the liberty of their Worship by the Indulgence of the King, and the License of the Bishops: And 3dly, The good People, as well Dissenters as others in *England* or elsewhere; who were ignorant not only of what those People suffered, but of the Principles by which they acted; and who receiving their Information in a Partial, or Imperfect manner from their Enemies only, or from the other People who join'd not with them, never rightly understood their Case; which Ignorance, and consequently the Prejudices that attended it, remains to this Day.

As to the First, God has been pleased to Convince most of those People, that their suffering Brethren were in the Right; and for the Information of the Second Part, these Memoirs are written.

I shall close this Account of Sufferers with Two or Three remarkable Instances, as well of Christian Constancy in the Persons Suffering, as of the Account given by them of the Reason of their then bearing their Testimony against the Power that then Ruled: And the First is in the Death of Mr. *John Nisbet*, who was put to death at *Edinburgh*, Dec. 4. 1686. the first Year of the Reign of King *James VII.*

The account of this Gallant spirited Gentleman, as well as courageous Christian, is thus faithfully abridg'd by one of his near Relations, who was an Eye Witness to his Sufferings.

In the Year 1664 he had a Child born, and refusing to let it be Baptised by the *Parish Curate*, or Episcopal Parson, he had it privately Baptised by one of the outed Ministers. The Persecution being then but newly begun, and very little Blood shed on that account: The *Curate* enrag'd at this,

publish'd in his Pulpit, that he would Excommunicate Mr. *Nisbet* the next Lord's day, and had done so, but that the Day before he was snatch'd away by Death suddenly. When the Persecuted People in 1666, met together at *Lanerk*, and received the Covenant at *Lanerk*, his Conscience summon'd him to join with them; and being known, and threatn'd with Death for that Action, was oblig'd for his own safety to follow those People, and keep with them in Arms: At the Fight at *Pentland* he was sore wounded, stript as Dead, and left among the Slain, but was preserv'd, and made his Escape.

At the Insurrection at *Bothwell*, he joyn'd with the same People again, and fought openly and Boldly at the *Bridge*; being not only a zealous Christian, but a Man of great Bravery and Resolution, as long as any Man would stand; and made his retreat and escaped falling into the Enemies Hands for that time; but being known, was describ'd by Proclamation, and a large Reward offer'd for apprehending him, his Estate and Goods seiz'd, his Wife and four Children stript of all, and turn'd out of Doors.

In this Condition he was one of those who are describ'd in the 11th Heb. 38. *They wandered about in Deserts and in Mountains, and in Dens and Caves of the Earth, of whom the World was not worthy*, and thus he lived, Suffering as we may say, all kinds of Distress, from the Year 1679 to 1685, above six Years, *not accepting Deliverance*, that he might preserve to himself the free enjoyment of the Gospel faithfully Preached in the Fields and Hills; whither he, and a Select Company, such as he was, came always well Arm'd, as well to defend themselves, as to Protect their Ministers and Brethren from Violence during the Worship of God, as occasion should present: At length being retired to a poor Man's House in the Parish of *Tinnock*, where they had used to be sheltered in severe Weather, it pleased God that they were seen, and private Information given, so that before they were aware the House was surrounded, and after a very desperate Resistance, in which he received Seven Wounds, they were all taken.

The Lieutenant of Dragoons, who was of his own Name, yet Insulted him, and Treated him in a most Barbarous manner: First he took his three Friends, who were Prisoners with him, and Shot them Dead before his Face; then coming to him, asked him what he thought of himself now? He Reply'd, I think as well of Christ and his Cause as ever, and not at all the worse for what I Suffer; and I only Grieve that I am left, and my dear Brethren are gone to Heaven, whom you have wickedly Murder'd. The Bloody Cruel Wretch Reply'd with an Oath, he should not be long behind them, but he reserved him for worse Punishment. He answered, If the Lord stand by me, and keep me faithful to Death, I care not what Sufferings I am put to endure. The Lieutenant then bound him Cruelly, tho' bleeding at his Wounds, and carried him to *Kilmarnock*, and from thence to *Air*, where by Intercession of Friends, a Surgeon was allow'd to dress his Wounds, after which he was carried to *Edinburgh*. It seems all this was done, that the Lieutenant might have the Reward published for apprehending him, otherwise he had been Shot with the rest.

Being brought to *Edinburgh* he was brought before the Bloody Council, where they ask'd him the Questions following, and received short Answers from him, such as barely shew'd, that he

neither expected or sought any Mercy at their Hands. The Questions were thus.

Q.—*Was you at the Field Conventicle at ——— ?*

[Here they Nam'd the Day and the Place.]

A.—Yes.

Q.—*How many Men in Arms had you there?*

A.—I went there to hear the Gospel Preach'd, and not to take an Account of Men or Arms that might be there.

Q.—*Which Way went you when the Preaching was done?*

A.—The best way we could to escape your Cruelty.

Q.—*Where keep you the General Meetings, and what do you at them?*

To this he answered he was not obliged to give an Account; at which one of the Council pretended he would do it for them, and made a long Speech of what was done (tho' he gave a false Account) at a General Meeting near *Edinburgh*: Then they asked the Prisoner if he was not there.

A.—No.

Q.—*We hope you are so much of a Christian as to Pray for the King.*

A.—Prayer is a holy Ordinance of God, and we ought to Pray for the King as well as for others, but not when every Profligate Commands us.

Q.—*Do you own the King as Lawful and sole Sovereign Lord?*

A.—He being Papist and that from his Youth, and, a Protestant of the Presbyterian covenanted Perswasion, I neither can or will own him while he remain such, if he repents and turns to God, I shall readily acknowledge him and obey him, and pray for him.

Upon these answers, and without any farther process, they passed Sentence of Death upon him, which he receiv'd, says the relator of this Story, not only with Christian Submission, but with thankfulness, blessing and praising God, who had counted him worthy to suffer for his Name: during the time of his Imprisonment he was used very cruelly, having a merciless Weight of Irons upon him during the whole time; yet he declar'd that he had a constant wonderful inward Assistance and Support from the Good Spirit of God, bearing him up under the Cross, having both a comfortable Assurance of the Pardon of his Sins, and a full Satisfaction of the Justness of the Cause in which he suffered.

After this we need but conclude this Work with an Account of the last Martyr who suffered in this Cause, and this was a Godly Minister; to leave it upon Record, that as the first that dyed was a Minister (*viz.*) Mr. *James Guthrie*. So was the last also (*viz.*) Mr. *James Renwick*.

There is another Observation on the Occasion of his Death (*viz.*) that he dyed the 17th of Feb. 1688, the beginning of the same Year of the Revolution, Testifying that the Episcopal Party never abated or relented; that they were never satiated with Blood; but went on as long as they had Power, even till they saw the very Cloud hovering and the Storm ready to break upon their Heads, nor had their thirst of Blood been quench'd to this Day, or as long as their had been a faithful Member of the Church of Scotland left alive, had their Power lasted; so that it was the End of their Government put an End to their Persecutions, and no Clemency, Pity or Compassion in them; no such things were so much as named among them.

This Observation puts me in mind of a brief Story within the Compass of my own Knowledge, of a Gentleman who was set upon by a Furious

Mastive Dog: The Gentleman defended himself with a Sword for some time, but the Mastive after being very much wounded, got within his point and fastned on his Arm. The Gentleman being in great Distress, and fearing every Moment that he would quit his Arm and fasten upon his Throat, had no other way to Master this Great Dog, but being a large heavy Man, he cast himself flat down upon the Dog with his other Elbow lying on the Dogs Breast, and thus with the Weight of his Body crush'd the Beast to Death, and upon this he observ'd that as the Dog dyed gradually under him, so fast and no faster his Teeth loosen'd in his Arm; his Fury lasted with his Life, and both ended together.

The whole Story is applicable to the Purpose in hand: The Church of Scotland was near worried by this cruel Creature call'd Prelacy, and very near she was to being taken by the Throat and destroy'd. But she fell at last upon the Mastive, and crush'd him to Death, and as he dyed under her, his Teeth loosen'd, his bloody Feud abated, and not one jot faster; the persecuting Rage of Scots Prelacy continued with its Life, died when it died, and will revive if ever it revives, of which we shall see some Confirmation in the last Part of this Work.

Mr. *Rennick* at his Death, hath this remarkable prophetick Expression, in his last Speech, (*via.*) *Do not fear that the Lord will cast off Scotland, for he will certainly return again, and shew himself gracious in our Land.* This I quote here, tho' his last Speech is also added at Large, in the next Pages: I say, this Prophetick saying I quote here, because the fulfilling of this Prophecy is the Subject of the next Part.

In this Persecution, as has been Collected from the Accounts, both Public and Private, above 18,000 People have suffered the utmost extremeties, their Enemies could inflict; of which the following Particulars are a part, many of which can be proved even to the very Names of the Persons, with the Places of their Abode.

1700 Have been Banished as Slaves to the *English* Plantations, besides such as were by order of Council, at the beginning of the Persecution, ordered on pain of Death, to leave their Country, which amounted to Eighty Seven; and besides above 750 banished to *Shetland*, to the Isles of *Lewis*, *Orkney*, and other remote Places belonging to *Scotland*: Of these 200 were wilfully, and premeditatedly Murdered, by keeping them under Hatches 'till they were drowned, when the Ship was Stranded, and there was time for them to escape, as is observed already.

800 800 were Outlaw'd, as we call it in *England*, about the time of *Pentland* affair, by the Order of the High Commission Court, and five and Fifty eminent Persons were Pannelled, as the Scots Law Terms it; that is, were Prosecuted absent, and were Sentenced to be Executed without farther Prosecution, when they should be taken, as many of them afterwards were; among these were 10 or 11 Ministers, of which Notice is taken before, page 44.

It is impossible to give an Account of those who perished by unjust and tedious Confinement in Prisons by the Barbarity of merciless Jaylors, stench of close and horrible Dungeons and Vaults, want of Conveniencies, crowding 30 or 40 into little, dark and damp Rooms together, lying on the Ground, ex-

treimity of Cold and Hunger, weight of Chains, Bolts and Irons, and the like. Besides this, great Numbers by the unhappy Places where they were Confin'd, such as the Castles of *Blackness*, *Dunnetor*, *Inverlochy*, and the *Bas*, and by innumerable Cruelties, Practised upon them, in those Places, contracted Diseases, lost the use of Limbs and Senses, as Sight, Hearing, Tasting, and some even of their Understandings, but many more of their Lives; and those who think they have modestly computed the Number of these, for an exact Account cannot be had, Tell us, they amount to above 3600, including the 800, and the 27 last mentioned.

3600 In the several Actions, which their Persecutors call *Rebellions*, and the Skirmishes which on those Occasions, as also upon Surprises, or otherwise have happened; there has been kill'd in the Field about 560, as at *Pentland*, *Bothwell*, *Aird-Moss*, *Queen Ferry*, and other Places, in defence of their Meetings, and personal defence of their Lives, besides those who have dyed of Wounds, receiv'd on such Occasions, which are reckon'd to be about 120.

Those that have fled from their Country, into voluntary Banishment, have been yet a greater Number: These made their way into *England*, *Ireland*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, and to any Place whither Necessity drove them, for safety of their Lives, and as opportunity of Escape offered; in which Countries they were driven to great Distress; such as Want, Cold and Hunger, having their Lives given them indeed for a Prey; but being perfectly destitute of Friends, Shelter, Help or Relief; other than what God was pleased to raise them up by his Providence, and by the Christian Charity of Foreign Protestants. The Number of these, have been esteemed by such as think they have made a modest Calculation, at above 7000.

Of these, that I may do Justice to the Charity of every Man, and every sort of Men, the Cruelty they suffered at Home, and the Extremities they suffered abroad, were such, as was even detested by Papists themselves; and some of the Suffering People have acknowledged, they have met with Compassion, even among the Roman Catholics; who have expressed their Astonishment; that Protestants should exercise such Inhumanities upon one another. In *England* also they were often Harboured, Reliev'd, Entertain'd and Concealed, even by some Charitable People, who were of themselves Episcopal, and Members of the Establish'd Episcopal Church; but who abhor'd the Cruelties and Inhumanities of the Scots Persecutors, and even abhor'd the Persecution it self.

Of those who went then into voluntary Banishment, or, as it may be rather said, fled from the face of their bloody Persecutors, very few ever returned again to *Scotland*, the Number of Years being such, that Age, together with the hardship of their Sufferings, carried most of them off before the happy time of the Deliverance of their Country arriv'd.

Besides these, there were abundance of Innocent and Pious Sufferers, who were basely Murdered by the Soldiers and Persecutors, upon the Occasions and by the Methods of which we have Spoken, being generally kill'd

in cold Blood, without Process of Law, Civil or Military, without visible Crime, Charge, or Examination: Of those, the Printed Accounts tell us the Names of 78 Murder'd by particular Persons, and I am well assur'd there were very many more, and have heard't that a Person, whom I have not met with, has the

498 Names of above 420 more; but that Number I do not avouch.

The Number really Executed, in the Pretended course of Justice, and by the Sentence of the cruel Persecutors, and who died by the Hangman, as I am credibly Inform'd, is very great, and I am told that about 362 are to be found on the several Books of the Justiciary and Council Courts, upon Record, besides

362 what were executed by Military Laws, as they call them, of which no Record has been kept.

The Numbers of those who Perished thro' Cold, Hunger, and other Distresses, Contracted in their Flight into the Mountains, wandering without Shelter or Harbour, in dreadful Winters, during the long space of 28 Years' Persecution, and who often came home in such Extremities, as just to step into their own Houses to die, and some times were, even in the Article of Death, dispatch'd by the Murdering Soldiers: These were many Thousands, and cannot be Calculated, but will certainly make up more than the Number of Eighteen Thousand, mentioned above.

Among these, I say nothing of the Pillage and Spoil of Goods, the turning Women and Children out into the Fields, in Cold and Nakedness, after devouring their Food, and tearing off the Cloaths from their Backs, of which many Perished for Want, and by the Extremities of the Weather.

It were also endless, to Number the Families ruin'd and reduc'd to Misery and Want, which must be the Consequence of the Plunderings and Murthers, mentioned above; so that it should be wondered rather, that any of those People were left, or that there were any found at the Revolution; tho' to the Honour of Truth, it must be own'd, that at the Revolution, their Number was found to be greater than ever. Witness their raising a Regiment of 800 Men in one Day, without beat of Drum, for the Guard of the Convention, and for the Service of their Protestant King; which Regiment was composed of Men, as serious in Religion towards God, as Resolute in Arms for their King and Country, and were Eminent in the Army for preserving the Worship of God among them, for which they were call'd in Derision, the Psalm Singing Regiment. Their Noble Colonel, the Earl of Angus, was kill'd at the Fight at Steenbirk, where the Regiment behav'd with such Gallantry, that the King himself gave Testimony of their Bravery, and is still in being in the Army, having lately given another happy Instance of their Behaviour at Preston, where great Part of them were Slain, and where, if they had not behaved with an uncommon Resolution, the Rebels had not been reduced as they were.

All the Account given of those Things, are fill'd with the last Speeches of the dying People, which the Brevity of these Memoirs does not allow, nor the Design of them make needful. However, as I promis'd, Page 96. I have clos'd the Scene with the dying Speech of one Mr. James Renwick, whose Tragedy clos'd the Persecution, for he was not only the last Minister, but the last Man they had Power to put to Death, and it is as follows.

'Spectators, (or if there be any of you) Auditors, I must tell you, I am come here this Day to lay down my Life, for adhering to the Truths of CHRIST, for which I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer; Nay, I bless the LORD, that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to suffer any thing for him; and I desire to praise his Grace, that he hath not only kept me free from the gross Pollutions of the Time; but also from many ordinary Pollutions of Children; and such as I have been stain'd with, he hath wash'd me from them in his own Blood. I am this Day to lay down my Life, for these three Things. (1.) For disowning the Usurpations and Tyranny of James Duke of York. (2.) For preaching, That it was unlawful to pay the *Cess*, expressly exacted for bearing down the Gospel. (3.) For preaching, That it was lawful for People to carry Arms, for defending themselves in their Meetings for the persecuted Gospel Ordinances. I think a Testimony for these is worth many Lives, and if I had Ten hundred, I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the same.

'Dear Friends, Spectators and (if any of you be) Auditors, I must tell you, That I dye a *Presbyterian Protestant*. I own the Word of God as the rule of Faith and Manners. I own the *Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, &c. Covenants National and Solemn League, Acts of General Assemblies*, and all the faithful Contentings that have been for the Work of Reformation. I leave my Testimony approving the Preaching of the Gospel in the Fields, and the Defending the same by Arms. I adjoin my Testimony to all that hath been seal'd by Blood, shed either on Scaffolds, Fields or Seas, for the Cause of Christ. I leave my Testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c. Against all Prophanity, and every thing contrary to sound Doctrine; particularly against all Usurpations made upon Christ's Rights, who is the PRINCE OF THE KINGS OF THE EARTH, who alone must bear the Glory of Ruling his own Kingdom, the Church: And in particular against the *Absolute Power* usurp'd by this *Usurper*, that belongs to no Mortal, but is the *Incommunicable Prerogative* of JEHOVAH; and against this *Toleration* flowing from that *Absolute Power*.

'Upon this he was bid have done; He answer'd, I have near done. Then he said, ye that are the People of GOD, do not weary in maintaining the Testimony of the Day, in your Stations and Places; And whatever ye do, make sure of an Interest in Christ; for there is a Storm coming that shall try your Foundation. SCOTLAND must be rid of SCOTLAND, before the Delivery come. And you that are Strangers to GOD, break off your Sins by Repentance, else I will be a Witness against you in the Day of the Lord. Here they caus'd him to desist. Upon the Scaffold he sung a part of the 103d Psalm from the beginning, and read the 19th Chapter of the Revelation: And having thus finish'd his Course, serv'd his Generation, and witness'd a good Confession for his Lord and Master, before many Witnesses, by the Will of GOD, he yielded up his Spirit into the Hands of GOD who gave it.

'Being the last that seal'd the Testimony of this suffering Period in a public Way upon a Scaffold.

PART IV.

THE CHURCH IN HER PRESENT STATE.

WE are now happily come to the End of this melancholly Part, and the Church of Scotland having now gone thro' a long Series of Trouble and Affliction, began to see a glimpse of that glorious Deliverance which was approaching: The Tyrannick and illegal Attempts upon the Religion and Liberties of the English Nation, as well as of the Scots, began to stir up that Nation to think of preserving themselves from Destruction; and having apply'd themselves to the Prince of Orange for Assistance, that glorious Person began to listen to their Proposal, and to make Preparations for his coming into England.

In the Deliverance that follow'd, the Church of Scotland found her Deliverance also: For in the Death of Civil Tyranny, Christian Liberty reviv'd.

The History of the coming of the Prince of Orange to the English Throne, is perfectly and fully related in so many Histories, is recent in the Memory of all People at the writing hereof, and probably will still be on so many subsequent Occasions preserv'd to Posterity, that as it does not immediately relate to our present Memoirs: So also I need not enter upon an Account of it here, other than what is absolutely Necessary to the Story I am relating.

It is also well known, that this Glorious Prince having finish'd the Deliverance of the English Nation, resolv'd the same should extend to Scotland; and that, as it is express'd in his Declaration, Religion should be settl'd in Scotland in such a manner as was most agreeable to the Inclinations of the People; from whence, and in the Consequence of which, we shall soon see many useful Observations most naturally drawn, pertinent to the Case now before us; and which, I see, all have great Occasion to make mention of again in the Process of these Memoirs.

1. But AS it has been already made plain in the first part of these Memoirs, that the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland, and the first Reformers of Scotland were Presbyterian, and that Episcopacy sprung up there but from the Degeneracy of the Reformation: SO it will now, that the Inclination of the People of Scotland Ran with an irresistible Torrent into Presbyterianism again at the Revolution, as it had always done when it was left in the Choice of the People; and that as at the Revolution aforesaid, it was left to the Nation by the Prince of Orange, to settle Religion in such manner as was most desir'd by the People, not a Dog wag'd his Tongue against the Presbyterian Establishment, not a Mouth gave a Vote for Episcopacy; nor was it so much as nam'd to the King as a Question, whether the Inclination of the People was for Episcopacy or Presbytery; inasmuch, that the King was often heard to say afterwards, that he wonder'd much what was become of the Episcopal Party, seeing no Man at the Revolution so much as nam'd the Word Episcopacy to him, nor had the Party any one to speak for them, or one Word to speak for themselves.

How they could, since that, have the Face to say,

especially as they often did to the late Queen, that they were superior in Number to the Presbyterians; and that if the People of Scotland were left free to Vote, they would carry it for Episcopacy, I say, how they could say thus, would be strange to any that did not know how that Party have, on all Occasions, made such Things their Refuge, and the Refuge of their Prelatick Hierarchy; and the Author of these Memoirs is Thankful, that even at the Time they did so, he had the Honour, in behalf of the Church of Scotland, to let her Late Majesty know how untrue that Suggestion was, and to Convince her Ministry how grossly those Men endeavour'd to impose upon England in that Case, as they did at the same Time in their Boast of the People receiving the English Service Book with willingness in Scotland, which Her Majesty was afterwards fully satisfy'd was a Cheat, and done only to amuse the English Clergy, and get Money of them.

2. It is observable in the Revolution, that the People of Scotland came all into the Principles of the suffering sincere Party, the suffering Party kept their own footing, and did not go over to them; those that had thro' Fear, or from Time-serving Principles, or for want of Zeal, or for any other weak Reason, consented, and, as I may call it, taken so low a Step, as to accept of Licenses from God's Enemies to serve Christ; asking leave of Men to Worship God; a Duty and Debt which they had a Natural and Divine Right to, without bowing the Knee to Baal for it; I say, THESE, far from justifying or recommending the Practice, openly recogniz'd the Zeal, Courage and Sincerity of the Sufferers, honour'd them for it, and rather desir'd to bury their own Compliances in Silence and Forgetfulness, than to have it mention'd or remember'd.

3. Now it was seen, and made plain to the World, that the suffering People in Scotland acted upon no Principles of Enthusiasm, blind Zeal or religious Frenzy, as their Enemies suggested; that they were no Enemies to Monarchy, Civil Government, order of Society, and the like, as had been scandalously said; but that they kept strictly to the Rule of God's Word, adher'd to an honest Cause, and acted upon just Principles: And when such Kings were call'd to the Throne, as desir'd to Rule for God, and the Good of the People, who made the Laws of God and Man the Rule of their Government, and the Prosperity of Religion, and of their Subject the End of it; they knew how to obey, serve and defend such Princes with their Blood and Treasure, as well as they had Courage to resist and reject those, who, with the Breach of Faith, Honour or Constitution, became Tyrants and Persecutors, Enemies to God, and Destroyers of Men, as their former Princes had been.

This is evident by their Practice at the Revolution; in that no sooner was the Prince of Orange Landed in England, and the Enemies of our Constitution began to stagger, but these People immediately took Arms, and successfully chas'd the bloody Party out of their Country. But when this was done, what Measures did they take? Did they run into any Enthusiasm? Did they set up KING

JESUS as a Temporal Prince, and the fifth Monarchy in his Name? Did they Preach the Doctrine of *Dominion founded on Grace*, or form Schemes of Republican Government? Did they erect themselves as Tyrants in the Room of those they pull'd down, so making the People change their Masters, not their Yoke? NO, NO, they adher'd to the Legal Constitution of their Country, they submitted cheerfully to the Return of Magistracy, and the free Course of the Laws of their Country, they arm'd themselves, and came up to *Edinburgh* at their own Charge, form'd themselves into Companies; indeed, *they were able to have form'd a considerable Army*, and offer'd themselves to March to any Part of the Nation against the Popish and Jacobite Party; and especially they offer'd, and were accepted, and admitted to Guard the *Convention of Estates*, against the Attempt of the Duke of *Gordon*, who at that Time commanded a Popish Garison in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and against all, of any Denomination that should attempt to Disturb them; and to the eternal Honour of the wild Antimonarchial, Enthusiastick, Lunatick *Cameronians*, for so their Enemies had call'd them; they were the first Men in *Scotland*, that address'd or petition'd the Convention of Estates, to Place the Crown of *Scotland* on the Head of their Deliverer King *WILLIAM*, which was done accordingly; to the restoring of Religion, healing the Breaches of *Scotland*, and the utter Confusion of their Persecutors, of whom I shall have more to say presently.

I cannot give a better Account of this, than in their own Words: First, of their Declaration, or Memorial of their Grievances, and then their Petition itself: At the End of the said Memorial of Grievances, we have them concluding thus, the Repetition of which will appear very Pertinent to the Case in Hand (*viz.*) to prove their willing adhering to Legal and Religious Governors and Government, their Words are these, (*viz.*) 'We are represented by our Enemies as Antipodes to all Mankind, Enemies to Government, and incapable of Order: But as their Order and Cause is *Toto Diametro* opposite to the Institutions and Cause of Christ; so they must have little Wit, and less Honesty, who believe and receive those Notions, and the Reproaches of those, who were as great Rebels and Enemies to the present Government, as we avow'd ourselves, to be to the last: Our Sufferings for declining the Yoke of Tyranny, and Popish Usurpation, are already hinted, and are generally known; and all that will examine, and consider our Conduct, since the King began his heroick Undertaking, to redeem these Nations from Popery and Slavery, will be forc'd to acknowledge, that we have given as good Evidence of our being willing to be Subject to King *William*, as we gave before of our being unwilling to be Slaves to King *James*: Upon the first Report of the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition, we own'd his Quarrel, even while the *Prelatick Faction* were in Arms, to oppose his Coming: In all our Meetings, we pray'd openly for the Success of his Arms, when in all the Churches, the Prayers were for his Ruin.' NAY, and Note, even in the indulg'd Meetings, they pray'd for the Popish Tyrant, who, we Pray'd against, and who the Prince came to oppose. 'We also associated ourselves early, binding ourselves to promote his Interest, and were the first who openly own'd and declar'd our Desire to joyn with him; and this, when the others were associating with, and for his Enemies: In order to make good our declar'd Intention upon the false Allarm of *Kirkcudbright* being burn'd, we had Recourse to Arms,

'and modell'd ourselves into a Body, and into distinct Companies, whereby we were in readiness to offer our Assistance; and did offer, and had the Honour done us to be accepted, and admitted to Guard the honourable Convention of Estates, against all the Attempts of the Popish and persecuting Party, under the Duke of *Gordon*, Viscount of *Dundee*, or other Enemies whatsoever; after which, understanding that the Government requir'd the raising Forces for its Defence, against the threatned Insurrections and foreign Invasions of King *James VII.* We no sooner heard thereof, than we offer'd ourselves to raise a Regiment for His Majesty's Service, and accordingly made up the Earl of *Angus's* Regiment of 800 Men all in one Day, without beat of Drum, or Expense of *Levy-Money*, having first only concerted and concluded such Conditions with the Lieutenant Colonel *Clelland*, a Gallant Gentleman, and Christian Soldier, as were necessary to clear our Consciences, and to secure Liberty and Safety, *viz.*

1. That all the Officers should be Men of Conscience, Honour, of approv'd Fidelity, well affected, of sober Conversation, and such as had never before serv'd the Enemy, in pulling down that Cause they were now to defend.
2. That the Service they should now be employ'd in, should be under the King's Majesty, for Defence of the Nation, the Recovery and Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and, in Particular, the Work of Reformation in *Scotland*, in Opposition to Popery, Prelacy, and Tyranny.

Upon these Terms the Regiment was rais'd, and they offer'd to compleat two or three Regiments more, if His Majesty had Occasion. But, says the same Memorial, before we offer'd to be *Soldiers*, we first made an offer to be SUBJECTS; and because we did not look upon ourselves as Subjects to the late King, who treated us as Enemies, we made therefore a voluntary Tender of our Subjection to our Deliverer in a peculiar Petition, the Tenor whereof follows.

To the Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland* (*viz.*) The Noblemen, Barons and Burgesses lawfully call'd and chosen, now assembled at *Edinburgh*, for establishing the Government, restoring and securing the True Religion, Laws and Liberties of the said Kingdom,

'The humble Petition of the poor People, who have suffer'd grievous Persecution for their Religion, and for their Revolt from, and disowning the Authority of King *James* the VIIth, pleading for Devolving the Government upon the Prince of *ORANGE*, now King of *England*,

Showeth, &c.

NOTE HERE, That waving for Brevity sake the long Introduction and Recital of the Sufferings of *Scotland*, under the Reign and Tyranny of King *James* the VII. they go on thus.

'We prostrate ourselves yet under the sorrowing smart of our still bleeding Wounds, at your Honours Feet, who have a Call, a Capacity, and we hope a Heart to Heal us: And we offer this

'our Petition—enforc'd, and Conjuring your Honours to hearken to us.

'By all the formerly felt, presently seen, and
'for the future, fear'd Effects, and Efforts of
'Popery and Tyranny.

'By the Cry of the Blood of our murdered
'Brethren.

'By the Sufferings of the banish'd Free born
'Subjects of this Realm, now groaning in
'Servitude, being sold into Slavery in the
'English Plantations of America.

'By the Miseries that many Thousands, forfeited, disinherited, harras'd and wasted
'Houses and Families have been reduced
'to.

'By all the Sufferings of a Faithful People,
'for adhering to the antient covenanted
'Establishment of Religion and Liberty.

'And by all the Arguments of Justice, Necessity and Mercy, that ever could join together to begin Communication among
'Men of Wisdom, Piety and Vertue.

'Humbly beseeching, requesting and craving of
'your Honours, NOW when God hath given you
'this Opportunity to Act for his Glory, the good
'of the Church, of the Nation, your own Honour,
'and the Happiness of Posterity. NOW when
'this Kingdom, the Neighbouring, and all the Nations of Europe, have their Eyes upon you, expecting you will acquit your selves like the Representatives of a free Nation, in redeeming it from
'Slavery, otherwise inevitable, following the Example of your renowned Ancestors, and the Patron
'of the present Convention and Parliament in England: THAT you will proceed without any Delay
'to declare the late wicked Government dissolv'd,
'the Crown and Throne Vacant, and JAMES
'VII. whom we never have own'd, and resolv'd, in
'Conjunction with many Thousands of our Countrymen, never again to own, to have really forfeited and rightly to be deprived of all Right and
'Title he ever had, or could ever pretend to have
'thereto, and to provide that it may never be in
'the Power of any succeeding Ruler to aspire unto,
'or arise to such a Capacity of Tyranizing: Moreover since *Anarchy* and *Tyranny* are equally to
'be detested, and the Nation cannot subsist without a righteous Governor: as also, that none can
'have a nearer Right or fitter Qualifications than
'his Illustrious Highness the Prince of Orange,
'whom the most High has singularly own'd and
'honour'd to be our Deliverer from Popery and
'Slavery: We cry therefore to your Honours, and
'crave that King William, now proclaimed King
'of England, may be chosen and proclaimed also
'King of Scotland; and that the legal Authority
'may be devolved upon him, with such necessary
'Provisions and Limitations as may give just and
'legal Securities for the Peace and Purity of Religion,

* Note here the Justice of their Principles as to Government, and how entirely free they are from all that they have been charged with, as to refusing lawful Subjection to just Powers, or being of Common Wealth Principles, Enemies to Monarchy, and such like.

† Here 'tis evident they preserved the Principles of the Crown's Lineal Descent, as well as that of a Monarchical Government; and perhaps were always as true to the Doctrine of Hereditary Right, as they who have made such great stir about it, could be.

'gion, the Stability of our Laws, Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the People, Civil and Ecclesiastic, and may thereby make our Subjection both a clear Duty and a comfortable Happiness.

[Here they enlarge upon the King's being oblig'd to profess and preserve the pure Religion, and the Work of Reformation; and conclude thus:]

'Upon such Terms as these, we render our
'Allegiance to King William, and hope to give
'more pregnant proofs of our Loyalty to his Majesty in adverse as well as prosperous Providences
'than they have done or can do, who profess implicit Subjection to absolute Authority, so long only as Providence preserves its Grandeur.

May it therefore please your Honours, &c.

From this Time forward till the Union, we scarce ever heard of the *Cameronians*: Their Separation before was evident from just Reasons, their not complying with indulg'd Liberty, accepting that from their Enemies which was their Native Right, and by which they must recognize the Right and Superiority of Episcopal Jurisdiction, which they abhor'd; this was all founded on Conscience and in just Exceptions: But when upon the Revolution, and upon King William's establishing their antient Liberty, and that Episcopacy was depos'd, as we shall see presently: They appeared to be all one united Body of Presbyterians, one Church, under one Religious Government and Administration; the same in Opinion, the same in Doctrine, Discipline, Worship, and Government, having fewer Breaches, fewer Divisions, fewer fallings off to a differing Opinion, than any Protestant Church in the World.

It remains then that our Memoirs give a brief Account of the Restoration of the Church upon this great Turn of Affairs, and this shall be done so concisely, and with such regard to what has been made public already on other Occasions, that I hope none shall think their Time lost in looking back, or think the Relation a vain Repetition.

According to the Prayer of the above Petition, King William was declared King of Scotland, the Crown was tendred to him, and accepted by him in Form, in Conjunction with Queen Mary. The Act of Tender, the Claim of Right, the King's Acceptance, with his Majesty's Letter to the Meeting of Estates concerning his accepting the Crown, and the remarkable Oaths taken by the King and Queen on that Occasion, are all to be found in the Collection of Public Acts of Scotland, Vol. 3. P. 147, 153, 156, 159, 187. As soon as these Things were done, the Convention of Estates were turned into a Parliament, and from thence forward began to Act as the Public Legislature of the Nation. I say no more of the Particulars, because they are to be found in all the Histories of that Time: But it is to our present Purpose to Note, that therewith Persecution entirely ceased, Episcopacy sunk into its Primitive State of Obscurity, the Persecutors fled on all Hands from Justice; The banish'd, and proscrib'd, such as were left alive, returned to their Families, Friends, and Native Country. Religion now began to hold up its Head, the Godly persecuted Ministers and People shewed their Faces, and possess'd the Seat of their Enemies.

The first Act of Parliament (after that for turning the Convention into a Parliament, and another to recognize the King's Authority,) was the Act for abolishing Episcopacy: This makes it abun-

dantly clear; that the general Bent and Inclination of the People was for Presbytery, and that Episcopacy was their Aversion; for that the very first Act after constituting the Civil Government, was this of abolishing the Ecclesiastick Government; I say the first, because as there were but two Acts which past before it; one for turning the Meeting into a Parliament, the other for recognizing the King's Authority; 'tis evident without these they could not have acted at all, and therefore the Act for abolishing Prelacy may be said to be the first Act they made, after the Power of acting was confirmed.

The Act for abolishing Prelacy is very remarkable, and can not be omitted without manifest Defect in our Work, it is as follows.

ACT abolishing PRELACY.—July 22d 1689.

‘Whereas the Estates of this Kingdom in their Claim of Right of the 11th of April last declared that Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office in the Church, about Presbyters, is and hath been a great and insupportable Grievance to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclination of the generality of the People ever since the Reformation; they having reform'd from Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished. OUR SOVEREIGN LORD and LADY the King and Queens Majesty, with Advice and Consent of the Estates of Parliament, do hereby *abolish Prelacy* and all Superiority of any office in the Church of this Kingdom above Presbyters; and hereby rescinds Cases, and annuls the 1 Act, 2 Sess., the 1st Parl. *Chs.* II. and the 2 Act, 3d Sess. 1st Parl. *Chs.* II. and the 4th Act, 3d Parl. *Chs.* II. and all other Acts, Statutes and Constitutions, in so far allanerly, as they are inconsistent with this Act, and do abolish Prelacy, or the Superiority of Church Officers above Presbyters; and do declare, that they with the Advice and Consent of the Estates of this Parliament, will settle by Law that Church Government in this Kingdom, which is most agreeable to the Inclinations of the People.’

This was a short Session, the Meeting requiring nothing of publick Business at that Time but those three Necessary Acts: They met again in April, and then the second Act pass'd, was to do Justice to the poor persecuted suffering Ministers, who had been driven out by the fury of the late Times: By this Act all the Ministers who had been so driven away, or as the Law expresses it, *Thrust from their Churches*, from the 1st of Jan. 1661. to that Time, should be forthwith admitted and allow'd free Access to their Churches, from which they were so Thrust out; that so they might presently Exercise their Ministry in their several Parishes without any new Call, and the present Incumbents are order'd to give Place to them, and remove themselves.

This was not Persecution, as some would have *etit'd* it, but restoring the persecuted, and removing Intruders, for they were no other; and this was previous to any Church Settlement, because it was no more than putting the injur'd Men into Possession of their Legal Right: All this while Episcopacy held its Possession in general, tho' its Government was dissolv'd.

But the fifth Act of the same Session of Parliament laid the Ax to the Root of the Tree; this was that famous Act, entitul'd, *For ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government*; the Law itself is too long to be re-printed here, it is to be found in the Collection of Acts, Vol. 3. Page 206. to 234.

As the Government of the Church was now restor'd, so were her Judicatories of Course; and at this Time began the first free General Assembly, which for eight and twenty Years had not been seen in Scotland; it is needless here to enter into the detail of the Acts of Assembly, which are all to be found in the Registers of the Church; 'tis enough to our Purpose to Record, that now the Church was restor'd to the full and free Exercise of her Just and Legal Authority, the Judicatures were erected in their proper Places, such as Kirk Sessions, Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly, and all Ecclesiastical Justice ran in its proper Channel.

Before I go on to what has since happen'd, in Consequence of this Revolution in the Church, it will be necessary to say something here to that Challenge, which some have been very forward to bring against the Church of Scotland, as if she were also of persecuting Principles, and had exercised the same Coercion in point of Conscience in her Turn, which she had condemn'd in others; this they have carried on even to the Charge of Cruelty and Persecution in the Treatment and Usage of the Episcopal Ministers who were disposess'd by those Two Acts, *viz. Of abolishing Prelacy, and settling Presbyterian Church Government.*

This Charge consists of Two Parts, in clearing up both which, the Honour and Character of the Church of Scotland will not only be vindicated, but the Injustice and indeed the Ingratitude of the Episcopal People, who have brought this Charge, will very much appear; and a quite contrary Behaviour will be made out to have been the Practice of the present Government.

1. The first Respects the Conduct of the People, when they took up Arms in a tumultuous Manner at the Beginning of the Revolution.
2. The next Respects the judicial Proceedings against the Episcopal Party since, in both which there needs no more for the Vindication of the Church, than that the Truth of Fact should be impartially stated.

As to the first it is true, That as soon as the News came to Scotland that the Prince of Orange was landed with an Army in England, and that King James was not able to maintain his Ground, the People of England enclining to a general Revolt: The People in the West of Scotland, for they were the first, ran immediately to Arms, and declared for the Prince of Orange: This was done with so Universal a Resolution, and the Consternation the other People were in at the General Face of Things, was such at the same Time, that there was no Capacity, or even Disposition to oppose them.

In this general Defection from the Government, the Western People not only took Arms, as is said; but ran in a Tumultuous manner, first upon the Church Affairs, for there it was that the Oppressions of the former Times had been most sensibly felt: In this first Fury it cannot be wondered that they disposess'd the Episcopal Ministers (Curates, as they call'd them) of their Churches, and restoring the old Worship, caused their own banish'd persecuted Ministers to come and preach among them: But the Nature of all such Rabbles consider'd, and above all the Sufferings and Provocation of those poor People, and of which I have given some Account; being duly weigh'd, it must be confess'd to be wonderful, that any kind of Violence was forborne, not that I allow it was just to have

committed them; but how could less have been expected from a People so treated as they had been, when they were thus perfectly let loose to their own Resentments.

Yet we do not find that the utmost Violence complained of, amounts to any more than an over hasty turning the said Episcopal Ministers out of the Parsonage Houses, which it was their Opinion were unlawfully possess'd, and some injurious hurrying their Goods out with them; and this but to a few: But as to any personal Injury, such as wounding or killing of any, I do not find that any such Thing is charged upon them.

On the other Hand, when we reflect, how many must be among those Rabblies who had suffered deeply in the Persecution, I have spoken of; who had lost Fathers, Mothers, Children, Husbands, Wives, and the dearest of remoter Relations in that Persecution, and could not be without the warmest Resentment; add to this, that some of those Ministers or Curates, who they were then disposessing, had dipt their Hands too much in the Persecution of those poor Sufferers: I say, if these things were duly consider'd, what can be said, but that it was next to miraculous, that an ungovern'd Multitude, left to the full Vent of their own Rage; and that Rage grounded upon such just Provocations, should have left any of them alive; and I can not think it any Breach of Charity to say, its very probable had the Parties been chang'd, it would have been quite otherwise.

And tho' any tumultuous Violences are not justifiable in a civiliz'd Christian Nation, yet the Conduct of these People at that Time, with their Provocations and Circumstances consider'd, is a great Testimony of the Moderation of the Presbyterians in Scotland: The Scripture makes this an extraordinary Case, 1 Sam. 24. 19. *If a Man find his Enemy, will he let him go well away: yet when the Presbyterian People in Scotland had their Enemy in their Hands, for so at this Time they had, they left their Revenge to him to whom Vengeance belongs; and contenting themselves with putting it out of the Power of their Enemies to do any more Mischief for the Time to come, they meddled not with punishing them for what was past.*

But supposing those Rabblies did commit some Violences, as to Plunder, and as to Personal Rudeness to the Ministers, &c. who they turned out, which yet I have not met with any Account of: This is fully answered in a Book formerly written on that Subject, in these Words.

'(*) What's this to the Church? It might be done by Presbyterians of the Church; but it can never be said, it was ever done by THE PRESBYTERIANS as a Church: It was done by no Act of the Church, no, nor of the Government; nor did either the Church or the Government ever Approve, Justify, or Employ any of the Persons——'Tis true, there was no publick punishing the Actors; neither did the Government in England punish, neither was it a Time to punish those Excesses: And particularly the Government in England thought fit, by Parliament, so far to bear with them, as to stop all Process against Treasures, &c.

'There is also another unhappy Circumstance, that so effectually clears the Church of this Charge, that I cannot but wonder, the Party could ever make use of it as an Argument, or bring this Matter of Rabbling into the Charge:

'And that is, That these Tumults, Plunderings, and Driving away the Episcopal Ministers, were all done and over, before there was any such thing as a Presbyterian Church; I mean, established, or in any Power to Act as a Judiciary, or as a Body; So that, to charge the Church with this, is like Indicting a Man for a Murder committed before he was born.

This I think may serve to clear up the first Head, viz. the Conduct of the Rabble, &c.

I come next to the general Proceedings of the Church of Scotland, as a Church after their Restoration, or new Establishment: How they were settled by Act of Parliament, has been already observ'd; it remains to enquire how they acted when settled, and whether either the Civil Government or Church Government can be justly charged with Persecution.

'It could not be expected, but that, upon the Revolution, the Prelate Tyranny would fall with the Regal: And, were it worth Examining into, it would be easy to prove, there was an inevitable Necessity it should do so, they being so effectually supported one by another, that they could not but stand and fall together.

'That the conjunct Tyranny of both Church and State had treated the Presbyterians with such an Impolitic Fury, as must imply, they had not the least Apprehension of being ever pull'd down again by them, is very evident from the particulars, which make up the former Part of these Memoirs. But to return to the History.

The Bishops being Deposed, and the Presbyterian Government and Discipline restored in the Church: The first thing the Assembly went upon was, to consider of planting Ministers in the Vacant Churches; for it could not be, but that in Eight and Twenty Years of Cruelty and Blood which they had suffered under, and which I have given some Account of in these Memoirs, a great Number of the ancient Ministers were fallen; besides that, even the length of time, would by the Course of Nature carry a great many off the Stage. And so it was, even to such a Degree, that it was at first not very easy to find Ministers to supply Churches from which the Episcopal Ministers or Curates were necessarily to be removed.

And here again the pretence of Persecution is brought as a Plea against the displacing those Incumbents, who would not qualify themselves according to Law: But neither will it hold in this Case neither: See the Words of the same Author, upon the same Subject, where he gives the following brief History of the first Step taken in this Case.

The Government, says he, was no sooner established by the Revolution, and the Kirk restor'd to her Judicatorial Authority, but her several Courts, as Session, Presbytery, Synod and Assembly, took their Courses, and began to Act.

By the first Act of Parliament for settling these Matters, past June 7. 1690. Intituled, *Act Ratifying the Confession of Faith, and Settling Presbyterian Church Government*; It is ordain'd, That the General Assembly, the Ministers and Elders, should have Power to try and purge out all Insufficient, Scandalous, and Erroneous Ministers, by due Course of Ecclesiastical Process and Censures: But this Act no where Impow'ered them to Censure any who were not Insufficient, Scandalous, or Erroneous, tho' they would not take the Oaths to

* Presbyterian Persecution, p. 9, 10.

the Government—So that, by this Law, the Church could not be capable of Persecution.

It may be objected here, That to be Episcopal, might be adjudged Erroneous by this Judicatory, and so come under the Church Censure, by Authority of this Act.

To this 'tis replied,—First, *In Fact*, No Man was ever since the Revolution Deposed by the Church, merely for being Episcopal, nor was any Process ever commenc'd against any Man on that Foundation.

Secondly, It was particularly declared by the First General Assembly after the Revolution, *viz.* in the Sixth Session, in the Year 1690, That this Assembly will Depose no Incumbents simply for their Judgment anent the Government of the Church, and Urge Re-ordination upon them. *Vide Index* of the Unprinted Acts of the Assembly, Sess. 6, 1690.

In the same Assembly, in their Instructions given to their Commission, which was to sit during their Recess, we have these Words;

That they be very Cautious of receiving Informations against the late Conformists; And that they proceed in the Matter of Censure very Deliberately, so as none may have just Cause to complain of their Rigidity; And that they shall not proceed to Censure, but upon relevant Libels and sufficient Probation, Act 16th, Sess. 26th, Assembly 1690.

Again, lest the Presbyterians should be rash and severe, the Commission is empower'd as follows, That if they shall be inform'd of any precipitant Procedure of the Presbyterians in such Processes, to restrain them. *Vide* the same Act as above.

If then they were thus Moderate even in Scandalous Things, and declared against proceeding in Cases merely Episcopal, where shall we find the Article of Persecution?

'Tis true, That in the Year 1693, an Act of Parliament was made to Deprive all such Ministers, as would not both Swear to the Government, and Acknowledge the Church Government also, and the Confession of Faith.—But the Occasion of this Act is visible to all that know the Affairs of that Time, *viz.* That it was past to satisfy the Minds of the People, who were exceedingly disturb'd at the Churches having been Insulted in the Assembly 1692, by a general *Formula* procured by the Episcopal Clergy, together with their Appeal to the King on a Refusal; And the Assembly being abruptly Dissolved, or Dismissed *sine die*, which put the Nation into a very great Ferment.

Yet, even upon this Act, I may challenge the Episcopal Clergy to show me one Minister, that ever was Deposed for not acknowledging the Church, if at the same Time he offered to acknowledge the Government, and take the Oaths, and they have been often challenged on this Head.

And to confirm this Lenity of Practice by a Law, that famous Act of Parliament was made in the Year 1696, wherein taking the Oaths to the Government is made the *Only* and *Fully Sufficient* Qualification, and all Ministers that would so *Qualify themselves* are continued. As may be seen at large by the Act, Intituled, *Act concerning the Clergy, Anno 1696*.

This very Act of Parliament, if I were to go no farther, effectually clears the Church of Scotland from the Charge of Persecution; since 'tis plain there was no religious Tenet in dispute, but a civil Question of owning or not owning the Government.

It was by this Act of Parliament taken quite out

of the Power of the Church, to Depose any Man merely for being Episcopal in Principle, or for refusing to own the Presbyterian Church; nay, the Episcopal Clergy, who by virtue of this Act, remain in their Livings, many of them to this Day, refuse to acknowledge the Church, to submit to any of her Judicatories, or to join, either in Discipline or Worship.

How impossible it is then to be true, that the Presbyterian Church has been guilty of Persecution, I leave to any Impartial Reader to judge; adding withal, what was published in the same Case, *viz.* That there was at the Time of the Union One hundred and sixty-five Episcopal Ministers then possessing Churches and Stipends in Scotland by the Lenity and Forbearance of the Government, who had no other Qualification required of them, than the taking the Oaths to the Government, and were not bound to, neither did they comply with, or submit to the Presbyterian Church; and a List of their Names has been published, and of the Parishes in which they Reside; nay, in several Parishes where these Episcopal Ministers are Incumbent, the Presbyterians are at the Expence to have a Minister of their own, who they maintain, and who Preaches in a Meeting-House at their own private Expence: Take the Case in the Words formerly publish'd thus.

It would be pleasant for People who charge the Church of Scotland with persecuting the Episcopal Clergy, to go to some of these Parishes and see this uncouth Jest, where the persecuting established Church is fain to submit to a Meeting-House, and the persecuted Episcopal Clergy-man insults them from the Parish Church, and keeps both the Pulpit and the Stipend in spite of them all.—Here is the establish'd Church turn'd Dissenter, and the Dissenter made the Incumbent; the Persecutor become persecuted, and *per contra* the persecuted made the Persecutor.

Thus the Church has re-obtain'd her Establishment, and here she may be said to be arrived at the full extent of her Militant State, flourishing in Peace, and the Wounds of her afflicted State healing apace.

It remains as a proper Close to this Work, that something should be said concerning this despised persecuted Church in General; a body of Christians placed thus, as it were in the remotest part of the World, in whom however God has been pleased so eminently to appear, and for whom to do such great Things as has been here related.

Now she enjoy'd her full Establishment, I mean just before the Union: After the Union, no Attempt that Episcopacy could make upon her could overthrow her Settlement, without overthrowing at the same Time the whole Constitution of Great Britain. What attempts have been made upon her during the Interest which her Enemies had in the Administration, at the latter End of the last Reign, have rather scratch'd her Face, than touch'd her Vitals, and have rather shew'd their Design than their Power: Whether she will obtain that Justice to have those Injuries redress'd now the whole Government is restor'd, I cannot yet say; nor does it relate to the present part of this Work.

Her Government, Discipline and Worship, are establish'd now by Treaty, and have the Assent of an Episcopal Church and Nation as a Sanction to it: The Act for her Security is Incorporated into

and made a part of the Act of Union; and the establishing the Church of Scotland is there called the establishing the true Protestant Religion.

I know but Two Things which the Church of Scotland can be said to complain of, or to ask more than was at this Time granted to her; and those there is some reason to fear she never will obtain, but as they are not Essential to Religion it self, I shall not lay too great a stress upon them.

1. That the Revenues of the Church, I mean of the Archbishops, and Bishops, Deans, Chapters, &c. when they were Deposed, and Episcopacy Abolished, were not appropriated to the Uses of the Church, as indeed they ought to have been, but divided like the Spoil of the Revolution among the Nobility and Gentry; Had this been done, there had been a Fund for the Service of the Church, which would have been sufficient to have answer'd several Wants, which in Default of this Supply, she feels the Effects of, viz.

1. There had been a Supply for supporting Students in the Colleges for the Study of Divinity, and to have enlarged the Stipends of the Regents or Tutors in the said Colleges, which were at that Time very low; and not suitable to the Labour and Application requisite in those Offices: The latter was so evident, that the late Queen was pleased to add considerably out of her own Purse, as an increase of Salary amounting in the whole, as I have heard, to about 300 *l. per Annum*.
2. There had been a Fund to increase the Stipends of Ministers in remote Parishes, where they were too small, to encourage the Incumbents and support their Families in waiting upon their Work.
3. There would have been a Fund to have bred up Ministers to act as Missionaries for the *Highlands*, to study the *Irish Language*, and qualify themselves to go into the remotest Parts to instruct the poor Ignorant Families of the *Highlanders*, and to support them in such a Work. A Thing attempted since the Union, by a General Subscription for the *Propagating Christian Knowledge*, but I do not find the Success answers the Goodness of the Design.
4. There would have been a Fund to have answered the common Incidents of the Church, such as sending up Ministers to *London* to solicit Redress of Grievances, upon any Occasion, and for every publick Transaction with the Court. OR which were very desirable for the maintaining an Agent constantly at *London*, to take care of their Interests, to present their Addresses, recommend their Concerns, and in a Word to manage their Affairs; all which they are now obliged either to want Assistance in, or the Ministers who do come up as Agents on extraordinary Occasions, are oblig'd to bear their own Charges, which is a Hardship many of them may not be very well furnish'd to bear.

2. Another Thing they complain of, is the want of the Sanction of the Civil Power to enforce Ecclesiastic Discipline and Censure; for want of which, obstinate Offenders are often encourag'd to stand out in Scandal and in wicked Practices, and refuse to submit to the Sentences of the Church, however just, righteous, and moderate: This is one Reason why the Nobility and Gentry very

often live in Defiance of Ecclesiastic Judicatures and Process, even in the profess'd and avow'd Commission of flagrant Crimes, such as blasphemous Swearing, open Drunkenness, Fornication, and even Adultery it self; whereas were the Civil Magistrate obliged to assist in the Execution of Church Sentences, no Man would then be above Reproof, and Punishment in just Cases.

But as I said before, those Things do not at all break in upon the Church; either in her Doctrine, or in the Liberty of her Worship; they may indeed affect the Establishment of her Discipline, tho' not much; so that by the Treaty of Union, it is to be hoped her last struggle with Episcopacy is at an End; and she may now be able to say, that not only she is arriv'd to her full grown State, but that the Continuance of it is secured to her People and their Posterity.

This brings to my Mind, a Reproach usually cast on the Church of Scotland by her Enemies, or rather it may be call'd an Insult, (viz.) That Presbytery was often hatch'd in Scotland and nursed up. But was never Major; never came to be of Age; alluding to a young Man, who tho' carefully brought up dies before he attains to the Age of One and Twenty: But that Jest will serve them no longer, seeing it is now Eight and Twenty Year since the Revolution, and since the passing the Act for abolishing Episcopacy; and yet Presbytery not only remains, but seems to be in a better and more probable Way for Duration than it ever has been since the Reformation.

It might be proper here to say a few Words by way of Observation, concerning the present State of the Discipline of the Church of Scotland, which was confirm'd also at the Time of the Union, and indeed I cannot refrain it for Two Reasons.

1. That I think it is a debt due to the Church her self, who I find suffer innumerable unjust Reproaches, and is contemptibly thought of, not among her Enemies only, but even among those in England, whose Interest as well as Principles ought to move them to inform themselves better concerning her, and who being better inform'd, ought to do more justice to those who so well deserve it at their Hands.
2. That she may be a Pattern to all the several Sorts of Protestants in Britain, and may shew them by her Example, not only what the Blessing would be of an establish'd well executed Discipline in a National Church, and of a laborious well regulated Clergy, but also how easy it is to attain to it.

I shall not examine into the Discipline of the Two National Churches in this Island, in order to compare them, to recommend one of them as better than the other: But for their due Emulation, this I may say, that supposing the Rules of their discipline equally good, yet no Man will deny Two Things.

1. That the Church of England Discipline is the most Neglected, the Execution of it the most Incumber'd, and the Prosecution made the most difficult and Tedious, as well as Expensive and Chargeable to the Prosecutor of any Protestant Church in the World.
2. That the Church of Scotland's Discipline is the most exact in Form, the most easy and cheap to the Prosecutor, and the most punc-

tually and strictly Executed, without Partiality, Bribery, or any sort of Corruption, as also without a tiresome, tedious and dilatory Proceeding, of any Church Discipline in the World.

Some of the Consequences of this, are these :

1. The Ministers (for they are as much subjected to the Discipline of the Church as the People, and perhaps more) are daily and duly enquired into as to their Conduct, and fail not to be Censur'd, if they give occasion of Scandal, in the severest manner; and in this Censuring of the Ministers in *Scotland*, it is to be particularly observ'd, That Ministers have there a severity used with them, if they offend, which the common People have not, and which perhaps no Ministers in the World but these, are subject to, (*viz.*) That if a Minister falls into any scandalous Crime, for which he is Deposed, he is Deposed for ever; a private Man is receiv'd again, after Scandal given, if he Repent and give Satisfaction, but a Minister never.

NOTE, Upon Repentance and making public Acknowledgement to the Satisfaction of the Church, he shall be received again to Communion as a Fellow Christian, but as a Minister he is perfectly useless, and never can be repon'd.

NOTE also, That this severity is not by the Law of Discipline, but the Practice and Usage of the Church, the People will never hear or receive such a Man as a Minister.

NOTE Thirdly, That the happy Consequences of this Severity, and which must be mention'd to the Honour of the Church of *Scotland*; IS, That there is not a Minister now preaching and Exercising the Office of a Pastor in the whole Church of *Scotland*, who can be charg'd with any Immoralities or scandalous Behaviour, except such as are under Prosecution for the same.

Could this be said of the Church of *England*, or could it be said that all due Care, as far as her own Laws would allow, was taken to bring it to this, what a new Face would there be of Religion in this part of the Island!

2. The People are restrained in the Ordinary Practice of Common Immoralities, such as Swearing, Drunkenness, Slander, Fornication, Adultery and the like: As to Theft, Murder, and other Capital Crimes, they come under the Cognisance of the Civil Magistrate, as in other Countries: But in those Things which the Church has Power to punish, the People being constantly and impartially prosecuted, they are thereby the more restrained, kept sober and under Government, and you may pass thro' Twenty Towns in *Scotland*, without seeing any Broil, or hearing an Oath sworn in the Streets; whereas if a Blind Man was to come from thence into *England*, he shall know the first Town he sets his Foot in within the *English* Border, by hearing the Name of God blasphem'd and prophanelly used, even by the very little Children in the Street.

Another Thing I cannot omit, in which the Con-

stitution of the Church of *Scotland* is Singular and Differing from her neighbours, and this is, that not the least Room is left here for the popular Charge of Priest-craft, with which the Deists, Atheists and profane People of this Age, Charge the Ministers of the Gospel of all Perswasions, alledging that all they do is either under the Awe of the Great Ones, to pursue their Interest and Livings, or with Wheedling and Delusion to win upon the Poor to make a Profit of them.

To the Honour of the Church of *Scotland*, her Ministers are so stated, as that (1.) They are under no Influence, Awe, or Command from the Great Ones; for the Stipend or Salary of the Minister depends not upon the Lord or Patron, but is settled by Parliament, to be paid duly by the Heretor, or Person who receives the Tithes; and if he refuses or delays, the Minister may demand it of his Tenant; so that the Ministers are wholly independent of the Gentry, how much soever the poor People are in Bondage to them.

(2.) As they can lose nothing by the Anger of the Gentry, they can get nothing by Favour of the Commonality; and this is very remarkable, that no Fees, no Perquisites, no Advantages are made of any kind by the Minister in his Parish, of or from his People; He receives nothing for Burials, Marriages, Baptisms, Visiting, or any other Thing belonging to his Office as a Minister; So that he has nothing to Wheedle the People into, or for. On the contrary, as he presides in his Kirk-Session or Vestry, he is rather a Magistrate or Inspector over the Lives and Conversations of his Parishioners, than a Tool to please and cajole them, that he may get Money by them, as is too much the Case in *England*, and in other Countries also.

This Power of the Minister in his Parochial Jurisdiction is that upon which Mr *Lauder*,* in that famous and yet unanswered Book of his, argues, That a private Parish Minister in *Scotland* is a complete Diocesan Bishop, according to *Cyprian*, and according to the Scripture Institution of a Bishop; presiding in Judicature over his Flock or Diocese, being Vested with the Power both to Censure and Absolve; and that the Government of the Church of *Scotland* by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, is really and properly *Episcopal Government*, to all Intents and Purposes, as the Government of the Church was *Episcopal* in the Third and Fourth Centuries.

(3.) The Office of a Minister in the Church of *Scotland* is a quite different Thing from the Office of a Minister in *England*; that is to say, as it is now Executed, either in the National Church or among the Dissenters; and it may be said without an Hyperbole, that were the Ministerial Office subjected and discharged in *England*, as it is in *Scotland*, in that Laborious Self-denying Manner, and under such small Encouragements, Thousands of the Clergy, I dare say, would wish to have been brought up Mechanics rather than Parsons; and scarce a Man that had any Temporal Estate to subsist on, would take the fatigue of the Gown upon them. Here are no Drones, no Idle Parsons, no pamper'd Priests, no Dignities or Preferments to excite Ambition, no Pluralities and Curacies to encourage Sloth, no Authority or Power over one another to gratify Pride, no Exemption from the Laborious part, or Excuse for not performing it.

Every Minister in *Scotland* preaches twice a Day, and Lectures upon or Expounds a Chapter, or part

*Vide *Lauder*, antient Bishops consider'd, cap. viii. page 316.

of a Chapter, before the Morning Sermon; except only where in some large Parishes, there are Assistants or Collegues allowed; every Minister is bound by his Office to Visit every Family in his Parish ministerially, and at least once a Year to Examine every examinable Person in his Parish: Every Minister is oblig'd in Conjunction with his Elders, who with the Minister compose the *Kirk-Session*, to take Cognizance of and hear all Complaints against the Morals of every Person in his Parish, and to proceed judicially as the Case shall require: Every Minister likewise is obliged to Visit the Sick in his Parish, when ever they send to him; nor is that an easy Work in the Country where the Parishes are large, and the Villages included in them remote from one another.

Who ever considers the Office of a Minister in *Scotland*, how faithfully the Ministers there execute it, how constantly they preach, how painfully they Study, how diligently they Examine, how duly they Visit, will easily Account for that weak Scandal that our People in *England* raise upon them, (*viz.*) *That we see none of their Writings*: And I shall add to it, what a Worthy and Reverend Divine of the Church of *England* said on Occasion of that Reflection, (*viz.*) *That if our Ministers, as well of the Church, as the Dissenters, would Study more, Preach more, Visit, Comfort, Examine and Instruct their People more, though they wrote less, it would be better Service to the Church, and they would more deserve the Name of Gospel Ministers.*

There are many other Laborious things which the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* go thro', and which Ministers in *England* know nothing of; such as their managing the Parish Charity, keeping the Treasure for the Poor, for there are there neither *Church-Wardens* or *Overseers*, their Travelling to reconcile Breaches, and heal Divisions among their People; their Expensive Journeys Monthly to the Presbyteries, half Yearly to the Synods, and annually to the General Assemblies, and the like: All which serve to make it true which was said by an impartial Enquirer there, (*viz.*) *That the Life of an English Porter was easy compar'd to that of a Presbyterian Minister in Scotland.*

Yet all this is supported and discharged with such Courage, such Temper, such Steadiness in Application, such unwearied Diligence, such Zeal and Vigour in the Work, that our *English Sermon-Readers* know little of, not having the same Support, and I fear, not the same Spirit to carry them thro'; in a Word, as they have a Work which

humane Strength is hardly sufficient to Discharge; so they have a Support which humane Nature is not capable to supply; and I must acknowledge that there seems to be such an Appearance of the Spirit and Presence of God with and in this Church, as is not at this Time to be seen in any Church in the World.

Farther, as there is among the Ministers a Spirit of Zeal, and an earnest devoting of all their Powers, Faculties, Strength, and Time to their Work, so the Peoples Part is in proportion equal; their Taste of Hearing, their Affection to their Ministers, their Subjection to be Instructed, and even to Discipline; their eagerness to follow the Directions given; these are Things so visible in *Scotland*, that they are not to be describ'd but admir'd: To see a Congregation sit with Looks so eager, as if they were to eat the Words as they came out of the Mouths of the Preacher; to see the Affection with which they hear, that there shall be a General Sound of a Mourning thro' the whole Church upon the extraordinary warmth of Expression in the Minister, and this not affected and design'd, but casual and undesign'd.

And one Thing as a Hint, to *English* Hearers, I cannot omit, (*viz.*) *That in a whole Church full of People, not one shall be seen without a Bible, a Custom almost forgotten in England*: On the other Hand in a Church in *Scotland*, if you shut your Eyes when the Minister Names any Text of Scripture, you shall hear a little rustling Noise over the whole Place, made by turning the Leaves of the Bible; nay, if a blind Body be at the Church, they will have a Bible, which they will give to the Persons next to them to fold down the Texts quoted, that they may cause some Body to read them to them when they come home.

There are many more Circumstances, in which I might show the Church of *Scotland* to be happily distinguish'd from most, if not all the other Protestant Churches in *Europe*, but the Particulars are too many.

I wish I could have had Room in these Memoirs to have set down the Heads of their Discipline, which we call in *England* the Canon, but it is too long; what has been said, as it is impartially sincere, so tho' short in Particulars, is sufficient to let you know what a Church she is, and what a Flourishing and Glorious State she is now in. The Glory be to Jesus Christ, the Eternal King and only Head of his Church for ever and ever. AMEN.

The End of the Fourth Part.

APPENDIX.

OF THE STATE OF THE CHURCH SINCE THE UNION.

AS these Memoirs were written soon after the Union between *England* and *Scotland* was finish'd and ratify'd, so the Period chosen for the last Part was proper to the Time; but no less than Nine Years having past since that Time, and before the Publication hereof, it is requisite that some Notice should be taken of what has happen'd in that Time, and this the rather, because some Depredations have been made upon the establish'd Liberties of the Church of *Scotland* since that Time, and some Attempts, even besides the open Rebellion of the Jacobites, in Order, if possible, to pull down her Fences, and lay open her Enclosure; that *Jacob* might be given to the Spoil, and *Israel* to the Robber.

But that Providence which has so eminently guarded the Church of *Scotland* in so many Dangers, has deliver'd her from this also, and now she sees her self free again from farther Invasion.

We have seen in the Accounts pass'd, on what Foot of Establishment the Church stood soon after the Revolution, and how she went, even till the Treaty of Union; neither is there any Thing in her History, which requires particular Notice during that interval of Time. Farther 'tis observable, that the Church being effectually restor'd as before, and enjoying an uninterrupted Prosperity; there remain'd nothing to be done in her Behalf, at the Time of the Treaty of Union, but to preserve her as she was in the full Enjoyment and Security of her Doctrine, Discipline, Worship and Government.

For this Reason, when the Treaty began, it was laid down as a Fundamental, That the Commissioners on either Side should have no Power to enter into any Conferences upon the Ecclesiastick Settlement of either Nation, for as there was no View or Design, or indeed possibility of bringing the Two Churches to unite: So to agree at first, that both should remain just as they were, was the only Method to put the Treaty in a way of being finish'd: The want of such a Preliminary having been the only Reason why all other Attempts for a Union had proved ineffectual and come to nothing.

The Church then having no room to apprehend that her Constitution should come to be debated in this Treaty, had nothing left to do, but to bring her Security to be one of the Articles of the Union, and so bring the Episcopal Church of *England*, not only to Recognise her Establishment, but to engage the whole Nation and Power of *England* to support and maintain it.

And this alone made the Union be acknowledged to be serviceable to the Church of *Scotland*, for otherwise it must be allow'd, that it had been a dangerous Thing for the Church of *Scotland*, which was the weaker, to join and incorporate her Civil Power, which was her Defence, with the *English*, which was the stronger: But now the Security, Liberty and Establishment of the Church of *Scotland* being twisted with the *English* Constitution, and built upon the same Foundation with that of the Church of *England*, it becomes invulnerable, unless we shall suppose the whole Ecclesiastick and Civil Constitution of *Great Britain* should suffer a Convulsion, and be overturn'd and destroy'd.

Nor had the Church of *Scotland* so good a Security for her Establishment before; her Nobility and Representatives, being not the best Friends to her Constitution, often offended at the Severity of her Discipline, and in part debauch'd from her

Principles by the Levity and Fashion of the Court; and it was more than probable, that in time they might have given a Blow to the Constitution of the Church, which now it is for ever out of their Power to do.

It is true, that there is not one Ounce of Good Will the more between the Two Churches for this Union, nor can I say that the *English* Church has not shewn her Teeth on several Occasions since that: The *Scots* Episcopal Clergy have met with Encouragement in their insulting the Church of *Scotland*, as in the Case of Mr. *Greenshields*, who set up a Meeting-House in the Teeth of the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, and vilely insulted them when they touch'd him on that Head, telling them he was a Member of the Church of *England*, and appealing from them to the House of Lords.

But after all, as the Government were convinced, that the Episcopal Men were in the Wrong, and that they could not support the Design; so the Man had some Money given him to withdraw, and the Case was dropt as quietly as they could, and with that just Caution with which wise Men generally drop a Thing they are ashamed of.

Nor can I say, that even the Union it self has been so sacredly observ'd on the *English* Side, as the Case of the Church of *Scotland* required, or her Privileges so well preserv'd as they had Reason to expect, from the good Words which were given them at the time of the Treaty; Witness the several Attacks made upon them in the Affair of Patronages, the Yule Vacance, and the imposing Oaths upon the Ministers, inconsistent with their principles; Things of which all I shall now say, is, That as they were done in a Reign, which did several other Things which the present Reign disowns and declares against; so we have great room to hope, and the Church of *Scotland* to expect, that those Impositions and Infractions of the Treaty will be repealed, and that she shall have more Justice for the future.

The Church made what struggle they could at that Time against the passing the Bill for restoring Lay-Patronages; the Agents they employ'd here were heard by their Council, and considering how much was said against it, and how little was, or could be said for it, 'twas thought very unaccountable that such an Act should pass at all; but it must be placed to the Account of the Times, and who ever reflects upon the Persons who manag'd the Affairs of *Scotland*, and had the Power at that Juncture, will find the Necessity they were in of gratifying the Episcopal Party: Their Advocate then was the Earl of *Marr*, the same who has been since their Champion, and who was then Secretary of State; it was no wonder then that the Church had as little favour in every thing that was mov'd against her, or wherein her Interest was concern'd, as if she had been an Enemy; nor was it in the Power of the few Gentlemen in *England*, who were sensible of the Injury, and would have serv'd her at that Time, to do any Thing for her.

However, a long Defence of her Privileges was published and delivered to the Members of Parliament, and was handsomely spoken to in the House; and the Church had this Satisfaction, that her Cause was lost by Numbers, not by Strength of Reasoning, or of Right.

It would be too long to insert here the tedious Account publish'd on that Occasion, by some who

show'd their good Will, rather than Capacity to State the Case : But the true State of the Case, as it was presented to the House of Lords by the Three Ministers deputed by the Church for that Purpose, cannot but be proper to publish, because it gives the Churches Plea in her own Words, and is as follows.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, The Humble Representation of William Carstairs, Thomas Blackwell and Robert Baillie, Ministers of the Church of Scotland, concerning the Bill for restoring Patronages, now depending before your Lordships.

IT is with all humble Duty and Submission represented unto your Lordships, that this depending Bill seems to be contrary to the present Constitution of our Church, so well secured by the late Treaty of Union, and solemnly ratified by the Acts of Parliament in both Kingdoms : That this may be more clear, it is to be observ'd, That from the first Reformation from Popery, the Church of Scotland hath always reckon'd Patronages a Grievance and Burden, as is declared by the first and second Books of Discipline, publish'd soon after the said Reformation, since which Time they were still judg'd a Grievance, till at length they came by Law to be abolished.

These Patronages having been restor'd with Episcopacy, in the Year 1661, and 1662, did continue to the Year 1690, that Episcopacy was abolish'd, and Presbyterian Government again establish'd; and tho' the Act of Parliament 1690, resettling Presbyterian Church Government, was founded upon the Act of Parliament 1692, which bears a Relation unto Patronages, yet the said Act of Parliament 1690, doth expressly except that Part of the old Act, and refer Patronages to be thereafter consider'd, which accordingly was consider'd in the same Parliament 1690, whereby it is plain, that the Abolition of Patronages was made a Part of our Church Constitution, enacted by the Act 1690, and that this Act 1690, with all other Acts relative thereto being expressly ratified, and for ever confirm'd by the Act for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government, and Ingress'd as an essential Condition of the Ratifications of the Treaty of Union past in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms ; The said Act abolishing Patronages must be understood to be a Part of our Presbyterian Constitution, secur'd to us by the Treaty of Union for ever.

Yet it is to be particularly consider'd, that the same Parliament 1690, was so tender of the civil Rights of Patrons, and so sincerely desirous only to restore the Church to its just and primitive Liberty of calling Ministers in a Way agreeable to the Word of God, that they only discharged the Patrons Power of Presenting Ministers to vacant Churches, but as to any thing of their civil Rights, did make the Condition of Patrons better than before, not only by reserving unto them the Right of Disposal of vacant Stipends, for pious Uses within the Paroch, but also for giving unto them the heretable Rights of the Tythes, restricting the Minister, who formerly had the said Right to Stipends, much below the Value of the said Tythes, notwithstanding which advantageous Concession to the Patrons by the Parliament, this Bill takes back from the Church the Power of Presentation of Ministers, without restoring the Tythes which formerly belong'd to her, by which the Patrons come to enjoy both the Purchase and the Price.

This being then the true Account of our legal

Settlement as to this Matter, it appears to be evident that the Restitution of Patronages, as to the Point of Presentation, can only gratify a few, while on the other Hand it must necessarily disoblige a far greater Number, that are now freed of that Imposition, and indeed it cannot but seem strange, that this Bill should be so much insisted upon, when there are so many Patrons, and those too of the most considerable in Scotland, that are against such a Restitution.

It is also apparent, that Presbyteries must come under many Difficulties and Hardships, as to their Compliance with this Innovation, and that many Contests, Disorders and Differences, will probably issue betwixt Patrons, Presbyters, Heretors and People, besides the known abuses wherewith Patronages have been attended even in their most settled Condition ; whereof many Instances might be given ; especially, that thereby a Foundation was laid for Simoniacal Factions, betwixt Patrons and those presented by them, and likewise Ministers were imposed upon Parishes by Patrons who were utterly Strangers to their Circumstances, having neither Property nor Residence therein.

It is therefore with all Submission expected from your Lordships Justice and mature Deliberation, That a Bill, as we humbly conceive, so nearly affecting the late Treaty of Union is one of its most Fundamental and Essential Articles, respecting the Preservation of the Rights and Privileges, which our Church at that Time was possess'd of by Law, for the Security of which the Parliament of Scotland was so much concern'd as not to allow their Commissioners to make it any Part of their Treaty, but reserved it as a Thing unalterable by any Judicature deriving its Constitution from the said Treaty, shall not be approv'd by Your Lordships, especially while the Nature of the Treaty it self shews it to be a reciprocal Transaction between the Two Nations.

W. CARSTAIRS
THO. BLACKWELL
RO. BAILLIE

Before the Commons, as I have said, they were heard by Council ; but all was to no Purpose, the Bill pass'd ; and which is worse, we do not see the Church of England, or even the Gentlemen in the Parliament of Britain, who were actually against the Bill at that time, equally solicitous to restore the Church now to the Privileges which she lost then, how unjust soever the taking them away has been.

Indeed we find the Commission of the Assembly very earnest to solicit the redress of those Grievances, and not without Hope that it shall be effected : And therefore, even while this was writing, Two Ministers, viz. Mr. — Hamilton, Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh, and Mr. William Michel, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, are Deputed by the said Commission to attend the sitting of the approaching Parliament, to get, if possible, Redress of the Churches Grievances, and a Repeal of those Acts which pass'd in the preceding Reign in their Prejudice : The Acts are particularly.

1. The Act for restoring Patronages.
2. The Act for Tolerating Episcopal Meetings.
3. The Act for the Yule Vacance ; that is, for keeping Christmas.

If those Three are obtain'd, the Church will then be restor'd to her full Lustre and Authority, and its hoped will never more have any Occasion to Complain of being Oppress'd.

